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Washington and the West

by

Archer B. Hulbert.

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"WASHINGTON'S MILL"

On Washington's Run, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, built 1774–75.

Washington and the West

Being George Washington's Diary of September, 1784. Kept during his journey into the Ohio Basin in the interest of a commercial union between the Great Lakes and the Potomac River

And a commentary upon the same by

Archer Butler Hulbert

Author of *Historic Highways of America*, etc.

With Maps

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READING ROOM

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TO

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.

THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

216557

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Washington and the West

Washington and the West

INTRODUCTION

THE Washington who was "first in war" is far better known than the Washington who was "first in peace"; and yet the late Herbert B. Adams said of the latter man — and the tribute must stand as one of the most singular ever made by scholar of statesman — "It would seem as though all lines of our public policy lead back to Washington as all roads lead to Rome."

The present volume, containing Washington's diary of September, 1784, presents Washington's attitude toward one of the great national policies of the early Republic: expansion and internal improvements. As a prophet of the former and a promoter of the latter, Washington had a profound influence upon our early economic history; and the story of his attempt to inspire his people to grow strong after he had marvelously inspired them to become free, is not unworthy of special record.

As no one knew better than Washington the extremities to which the revolting colonies were led during the war for freedom, so no one knew better than he the pitiful condition of the country

in those critical afterhours when America was little else than free. One will look in vain for more discouraging words than some to be found now in Washington's correspondence: "We shall wanton and run riot," he wrote Governor Harrison of Virginia, "until we have brought our reputation to the brink of ruin"; he described the "half-starved, limping government that appears to be always moving upon crutches, and tottering at every step" as "descending into the vale of confusion and darkness." All this within two years of the close of the war. What, it may well be asked, was Washington doing in these years to help the country concerning which he uttered such dismal opinions?

It is of signal interest that he struck at the root of the immeasurably difficult and important problem. His answer was, Expansion. Washington was our first expansionist, not for expansion's sake, truly, but for country's sake and duty's. In so far as the Washington who was "first in peace" has been pictured as a complacent old gentleman, loaded with honors, taking life peacefully in slippers and arm-chair before a Mount Vernon fireplace, the real man is most thoroughly misconceived. Take, rather, the picture, dimly outlined in the following diary, of Washington camping in the rain with no cover but his cloak amid the Alleghany Mountains three hundred miles

from home, and we begin to have a conception of the earnestness of the real Washington. For while he did not refuse to face squarely the dark side of the problem, he also looked on the bright; and, looking, he uttered a clear note of enthusiasm that opened the eyes of a prostrate people. The leader of small ragged armies now became the leader of a whole nation which at one and the same time should expand and unify. A living nation must be a growing nation, and Washington looked to the Alleghanies and the rich empire on the Mississippi and Great Lakes for hope and light; if others thought the vast territory beyond the mountains a hopeless encumbrance, he did not; if others thought to see England, France and Spain seizing upon commercial and political spheres of influence there, he did not; if others thought to see the East at last abandon the West because it was a burden too heavy to carry, Washington did not. On the contrary, Washington saw in the awakening of the West a hope for the East —in a day when hopes and fears were running a hard race in human hearts for the mastery.

Men pointed out that France and England had not held the trans-Alleghany empire, even though making vast expenditures in men and treasure; how could the poor Republic, "one nation to-day, thirteen to-morrow," do what France and England had failed to do? It was a fair question, but

Washington met it with an answer prophetically strong: France and England had held the West by a military rule that was wholly artificial and endlessly expensive; Washington stood for a new system, for a possession of the West that meant a blessing to possessor and possessed, by means of a commercial union. It was a pioneer idea instinct with genius, and Washington's advocacy of it marked a new epoch in American history, and marks him as the first commercial American — the first man typical of the America that was to be. England had restrained Western immigration in order to monopolize more effectively the fur trade; this commerce was a pitifully one-sided affair that excluded all the other industries. How vastly opposed to this was the policy that threw the West open to the flood-tides of pioneers, and then welded it to the East by such bands of commerce as Washington now began to forge in 1784!

"There are no Alleghanies in my politics," said Daniel Webster in the Senate in 1836; that was Washington's *political* theory in 1784. "Intercourse between the mighty interior West and the sea-coast," said Edward Everett in Faneuil Hall in 1835, "is the great principle of our commercial prosperity"; that was Washington's *commercial* theory in 1784. Far-seeing as were Everett and Webster and Clinton and the Morrises, Wash-

ington excelled them all in that he antedated them in realizing the destinies of America ran east and west.

Washington's earnestness is well exemplified by the timeliness of his activity; even before the close of the Revolution he began this active campaign for commercial expansion. Leaving his camp at Newburgh, New York, he made a three weeks' tour up the Mohawk River into central New York, in order to view that great artery of communication to the West and the Lakes. Returning, he wrote from Princeton, October 12, 1783, to Chevalier de Chastellux concerning his impressions, as follows: "I could not help taking a more extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States and could not but be struck by the immense extent and importance of it, and of the goodness of that Providence which has dealt its favors to us with so profuse a hand. Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve them. I shall not rest contented till I have explored the Western country, and traversed those lines, or great part of them, which have given bounds to a new empire." The following diary is the record of this tour of exploration.

Now, it must not be supposed that Washington advanced the idea of expansion either as a mere political *coup,* or as a fancy of the moment; he knew the West, and, in its general outline, this

idea had been present with him for many years. There are few untold stories of more human interest than this one of Washington's acquaintance with the Middle West, his travels there, his land speculations, his hopes and dreams and fears of the magnificent forest-kingdom that in his day stretched from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. He knew that "empire," the bounds of which he wrote de Chastellux he wished to traverse; and it is only because his services as commander of the American army and as first President of the Republic were so notable that we have found it difficult to remember he was one of the earliest of daring explorers and shrewd, clear-headed investors to set foot on the soil of the old West. For a beginning of this we look back to his early boyhood when a mother's hand turned the lad from the sea into the moaning forests on the upper Potomac. Had the parent's wish not been obeyed the West would have lost a mighty champion; as it was, Washington, in the last two years of the first half of his century, made acquaintance with the forests, the mountains and the rivers on the flanks and to the rear of the Colonies. The tremendous silences thrilled the young heart; the vastness of the wildernesses made him sober and very thoughtful. He came in touch with the great problem of that forest-empire at an impressionable age and it became a life-problem with him.

He studied the common trivialities of the borderland; the perils and hardships of frontier life; the perplexing disputes as to tomahawk and squatter claims; the hundred woodland arts that are now more than lost; the Indian claims and customs, and their conceptions of right and wrong; the commercial need, and ways and means: all these, and more, were the questions this tall boy was providentially made to face as the first steps in a life of unparalleled activity and sacrifice. In 1748, as noted, he was surveying on the upper Potomac; in 1753 he was sent to the French forts near Lake Erie as envoy extraordinary from the Governor of Virginia; in 1754 he commanded the Virginia Regiment which formally opened the Old French War at Fort Necessity; in 1755 he marched with Bulldog Braddock to the death-trap beside the Monongahela, and in 1758 he led the Virginia vanguard of General John Forbes's army to the capture of Fort Duquesne. Here Washington learned his few lessons in war—and it is prophetic that he should have learned them west of the Alleghanies. For, no sooner was the French War over, than the young Colonel, now settled at Mount Vernon, turned instantly to the West as a richly promising field for commercial exploitation. In 1763, the very year of the treaty with France, Washington organized the Mississippi Company, and the articles of association in

his own handwriting, signed by Francis Lightfoot Lee, John Augustine Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Bullitt, founder of Louisville, and others, including himself, repose in the Congressional Library. An agent was sent to London to secure a grant of Western land, but met with no success, owing to the governmental policy which created the proclamation of 1763 prohibiting Western settlements. With a keen appreciation of the inward meaning of things, Washington saw that no proclamation could hold back the flood of immigration; and as early as 1767 he was writing his old comrade of surveying tours and military campaigns, William Crawford, to pick him out some good tracts of land near Pittsburgh. As to the proclamation, he wrote confidentially: "I can never look upon that . . . in any other light (but I say this between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. . . . Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it."

Washington already had, it must be noted, a claim to certain tracts of land in the West, for in 1754 Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia offered bounty lands beyond the mountains to all who would volunteer in the Fort Necessity Campaign; Washington, as ultimate commander of that ex-

pedition, became possessed of the lion's share, and he had shrewdly added to his holdings by purchasing other claims held by officers and soldiers under him who preferred ready money to a Colonial governor's promise. Washington bought the promises. Thus, at one time and another, the proprietor of Mount Vernon invested his money heavily in the West, until, at the close of the Revolution, we learn from a letter written to President John Witherspoon of Princeton College, he had "patents under the signature of Lord Dunmore (Governor of Virginia) . . . for about 30,000 acres, and surveys for about 10,000 more, patents for which were suspended by the disputes with Great Britain, which soon followed the return of the warrants to the land office. Ten thousand of the above thirty lie upon the Ohio; the rest on the Great Kanawha. . . ." In a "Schedule of Property" accompanying Washington's will we find he possessed the following properties west of Mount Vernon:

IN VIRGINIA

	Acres	Price per acre	Total
Loudoun County, Difficult Run	300		$6,666
Loudoun and Farquier, Ashby's Bent...	2,481	$10	24,810
Chattin's Run..	885	8	7,080
Berkeley, South Fork of Bullskin.....	1,600		
Head of Evan's M.....	453		
In Wormeley's Line	183		
	2,236	20	44,720

	Acres	Price per acre	Total
Frederick, brought from Mercer.....	571	$20	$11,420
Hampshire, on Potomac River above B..	240	15	3,600
Ohio River, Round Bottom.....	587		
Little Kanawha.....	2,341		
Sixteen miles lower down.....	2,448		
Opposite Big Bent	4,395		
	9,744	10	97,440
Great Kanawha			
Near the mouth, west.....	10,990		
East side, above.....	7,276		
Mouth of Cole River.....	2,000		
Opposite thereto 2,950			
Burning Spring 125			
	3,075		
			200,000
PENNSYLVANIA			
Great Meadows.....	234	6	1,404
NEW YORK			
Mohawk River .....about	1,000	6	6,000
NORTHWEST TERRITORY			
On Little Miami	839		
Ditto	977		
Ditto	1,235		
	3,051	5	15,255
KENTUCKY			
Rough Creek.....	3,000		
Ditto, adjoining	2,000		
	5,000	2	10,000
Total.....acres	49,083		$428,395

Thus we see that Washington's estimated wealth was over half a million, and more than

four hundred thousand lay in Western lands; and it is probable that he secured nearly all of this prior to 1784. Compared to some alleged private holdings, such as claimed by Richard Henderson and George Croghan, this was a small quantity; but it explains in full Washington's knowledge of the Western problem; it makes it very clear that when he wrote de Chastellux, "Would to God we may have wisdom enough to improve the opportunity," he knew full well the meaning of his ringing words.

First and foremost, his study of the scene of these investments gave Washington a glimpse into the future that no man of his day had, in which he saw the West filled with a great population. Who, indeed, ever uttered a clearer prophecy than Washington when he said that the West would become populated faster than any one could believe and faster than any other similar empire ever had? Washington being sure as to this cardinal fact—upon which many were as doubtful as was Webster of the Oregon country half a century later—it naturally compelled him to face a whole series of propositions concerning national prosperity some twenty-five years before their time. These propositions relating to the awakening of the West may be divided into at least four: those concerning (1) communications, (2) treatment of the Indian inhabitants, (3) future States

to be admitted into the Union and (4) public lands. On all these questions Washington, because of his intimate acquaintance with the West, had profound conceptions which shaped the destiny of America.

His attitude toward the problem of communications is the subject of the following diary; to all intents and purposes, as will be seen, Washington may well be called the Father of the Cumberland National Road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. His influence in the question of Western statehood and the public lands was first clearly put by Professor Adams as follows: " . . . no one has ever shown how the first steps towards the organization of our public domain into new states were also suggested by George Washington and not by Thomas Jefferson, as is commonly supposed. The idea of parcelling out the Western country 'into free, convenient and independent governments' was first proclaimed by Maryland in those famous instructions to her delegate, but the first definite *plan* for the formation of new States in the West is to be found in a letter written the seventh of September, 1783, by General Washington to James Duane, member of Congress from New York. . . . The practical suggestions of George Washington with reference to adopting an Indian policy and some definite scheme for

organizing the Western territory, were adopted almost word for word in a series of resolutions by Congress, which are to be found in the Secret Journals of that body, under the date of October 15, 1783. In referring to the regular Journal of Congress for the above date, we find the report of a committee . . . to which . . . sundry letters and papers concerning Indian affairs had been referred. *The committee acknowledge in their report that they have conferred with the commander-in-chief.* When now we recall the fact that the chairman of the above committee was James Duane, the very man to whom Washington addressed his letter of the seventh of September, the whole matter clears up and George Washington stands revealed as the moving spirit in the first active measures for the organization of the Public Lands. . . . Washington's plans were what the Germans would call *'bahnbrechend.'* His suggestions were the pioneer thoughts of genius; they opened up the ways and pointed out the means." *

Those last words may be taken more literally than the writer intended. It was well for men to spin theories concerning the West, its red-skinned inhabitants and the vast acreage it contained; but

* "Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions to the United States," *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Third Series (January, 1885), 41, *seq.*

the Alleghanies were not to be argued away. There they lay, rough and lonely ridges of laurel and white oak and pine, an almost impassable district averaging nearly a hundred miles in width, and, in length, stretching from near the Niagara frontier to the Great Smoky and Cumberland ranges in the South. In Europe such a mountainous barrier would have been considered a boundary of empire raised by the hand of Providence; few if any statesmen abroad ever thought to see a single State beyond that dark boundary-line join the united States to the eastward of it. And so, while it were well to plan the westward States, devise methods for reconciling the Indian to the advent of civilization, and propose ways of handling a vast public domain, the immediately vital question was first to bind the West and East by highways of communication; this would make immigration possible and would then weld the old settlements with the new by that strongest social bond, commerce. If St. Louis and New Orleans on the west, or Detroit and Montreal on the north, were to become the avenues of trade and prosperity (while held by foreign powers), there was great reason to think the Alleghanies would become the Alps of America, sheltering among their ranges a number of small kingdoms, like those Bishop Berkeley sang, which should block the over-reaching ambitions of the greater States

that might surround them. If, on the other hand, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Alexandria and New York could secure the growing trade of the trans-Alleghany country, a real union, as logical as it was secure, would be established.

Thus it was to the "doors," one may say, in the Alleghanies that Washington was looking with anxious eyes at the close of the Revolution. We have seen that he had visited one historic passage-way westward, the Mohawk route, and it is interesting to remember that he was "the first to predict the commercial success of that route . . . which was afterwards taken by the Erie Canal and New York Central Railroad." This route, which dodged around the northern slopes of the Alleghanies, was the easiest of all routes from the seaboard to the Middle West. South of it the mountains lay like a castle wall, as James Lane Allen has so effectively pictured them. "The thin, half-starved, weary line of pioneer civilizers," he writes, "had to . . . climb this obstructing mountain wall, as a line of traveling ants might climb the wall of a castle. . . . The feeblest of the ants could not climb the wall; the idlest of them would not. Observe, too, that once on the other side, it was as hard to get back as it had been to get over."* The "doors" of this wall were few and far between; but the buffalo and In-

* *The Blue Grass Region of Kentucky*, 252.

dian had found them out, one at the head of the Juniata tributary of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania (now the route of the Pennsylvania Railway), one at the head of the Potomac (the Baltimore and Ohio Railway route in Maryland), one at the head of James River in Virginia (the route of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway) and, lastly, one near the heads of the Tennessee — the "high-swung gateway" through Cumberland Gap to Kentucky. These routes, ascending the Susquehanna, Potomac and James rivers on the eastern side of the castle wall, vaulted the summit, or ancient portage, and descended the Conemaugh, Youghiogheny and Great Kanawha rivers on the western side.

In the contemplation of a commercial union of the East and West Washington's eyes ran quickly to these gleaming waterways; the commerce of the Colonies had been largely carried in the bottoms of the sloops and brigs of the coastwise trade which ascended the seaboard rivers as far as these were navigable. It can be said with a large degree of truth that there was little commerce outside the zone reached by these vessels; the era of road building had not dawned, and the era of canals was half a century away. It seemed natural, therefore, that, to increase the commerce of the country, it was necessary only to increase the length of the navigation of the rivers; and,

carrying out this reasoning, in order to establish a commercial union with the West, it was only necessary to improve the navigation of the rivers which led up to these gateways in the mountain-barriers, by means of locks, wing-dams, sluices, etc. The summit portage could in some instances be conquered by a canal; where this was not feasible a portage-road could be built. True, notes of alarm had been sounded as to the danger of pressing too far the theory of the canalization of rivers; Franklin in 1772 wrote from England cautioning American promoters on this point;* and had not a stately Spanish Council warned the engineering world, with regard to unnavigable rivers, that " . . . if it had pleased God that these rivers should have been navigable, he would not have wanted human assistance to have made them such. . . " ?†

But Washington's idea was right, Franklin and the Spanish Council to the contrary notwithstanding; though it was not until our day that science permitted a great canal (the new Erie 1000-Ton Barge Canal) to be planned, in a large degree, by the canalization of rivers. As early as the date of Washington's first Western journey in 1753 he paid attention to the navigation of the upper Potomac and left a manuscript of notes on the sub-

*A. B. Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America,* XIII, 25.
† Id., XIII, 18.

ject.* In 1759, when a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he brought privately to the members of the Assembly a plan for improving the Potomac and connecting it with the Ohio. In 1770 he was corresponding with Thomas Johnson, later Governor of Maryland, concerning the improvement of the Potomac, "as a means of becoming the Channel of conveyance of the extensive and valuable trade of a rising empire."† Finally, in 1774, a bill was brought before the Assemblies of both Virginia and Maryland looking toward the improvement of the Potomac. Then the Revolution was precipitated, and all private concerns dropped out of sight in the years of public danger. But for this Virginia and Maryland would have entered upon a work of internal improvement the like of which had not been seen on this continent. In all the plans making for this end Washington had been the leader, in word and in deed; and it is noteworthy that it was his very associate in this early internal improvement campaign, Johnson, who, as delegate to Congress, nominated Washington Commander-in-chief of the Continental Army.

And now, returning home at the end of the war, the old plan reoccurs to Washington with an

* Stewart, Andrew, "Report on Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in 1826," *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives, First Session, Nineteenth Congress, Report No. 228.*

† Id., 27–29.

overwhelming force; if there were ten reasons for it before Independence was achieved, there were a hundred now. It was with this feeling uppermost in his mind that he had made the Mohawk tour from Newburgh. Possibly he had heard of the vision seen by the brilliant Morris, who, in 1777, pointed out to his fellow-officers the possibility of joining the Great Lakes by a waterway with the Hudson; and as Washington watched the Mohawk he was thinking, no doubt, of his own river, the Potomac. In the face of all this it is not strange, then, that early in the new year of peace, 1784, he should have planned a similar tour up the Potomac with the intention of making a similar examination of the possible connections that might be made with it and the Ohio and Great Lakes beyond.

By midsummer the plans for the Western trip were formulated, and promptly on schedule time, September 1, Washington departed from Mount Vernon. He now began his diary of September 1 — October 4, 1784. In that time he traversed, by his count, 680 miles, though eleven days saw no progress. To correspondents and friends he wrote that he was going on a private mission to see his lands and overseers; thus he wrote to his old friend Dr. Craik, "I am not going to explore the country, nor am I in search of fresh lands"; but, in connection with the former statement,

Professor Adams well says: "Washington was not quite just toward his own motives, as events show." In fact, he had not been gone three days before he wrote in the diary that "one object" of his journey was "to obtain information of the nearest and best communication between the Eastern and Western Waters; and to facilitate as much as in me lay the Inland Navigation of the Potomack."

This diary was kept in a little oblong note-book, and finely written in ink. It now reposes in the manuscript department of the Library of Congress. The following version has been carefully compared and corrected with the original. The references by number are to the commentary which follows the diary and which gives title to this volume. In the commentary the numbers will be found to run consecutively, which is forbidden in the diary because of the repetitions.

On the margin of each page of the commentary will be found the inclusive number of notes contained thereon.

With the exception of a number of entries concerning a dispute with squatters on his Pennsylvania lands (which led to Washington's becoming the successful plaintiff in an ejectment suit), the diary is a study of the possible course of a great transportation route from the Potomac to Lake Erie; and when studied in the light of his

entire relation to the Western problem even the details of the record become of interest. At the conclusion Washington sums up the whole problem of joining the Potomac tide-water with the Great Lakes, and emphasizes its commercial and political importance.

Again, this diary gives us a picture of the experiences and vicissitudes of pioneer traveling across the Alleghanies that is perhaps unequaled by any other record of equal antiquity and reliability and length.

In several instances points mentioned in the diary are not located in the subsequent commentary because a glance at the accompanying maps will readily give the location much better than words could do.

To C. W. Butterfield's *The Washington-Crawford Letters* and especially to the late Professor H. B. Adams's articles on "Washington's interest in Western Lands," etc., in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (Third Series), the author is indebted, as numerous footnotes will abundantly prove; for further aid he owes thanks to James Hadden of Uniontown, Pa., Hon. Boyd Crumrine of Washington, Pa., Edward H. Sincell of Oakland, Md., W. H. McGibbon of Bruceton, W. Va., and Alexander C. Mason of Oakland, Md.

But for his greatest pleasure the author is indebted to a score of lowly mountaineers, who will

never see or hear of this book, but who looked with wondering, delighted eyes upon the wayfaring editor's copy of Washington's diary, and listened, as though nothing else they had ever heard was worth remembering, to passages in it that referred to the localities in which they lived and which the outer world has forgotten. For, while the bright Cheat River is known to anglers and lumbermen, it has not, somehow, become the mighty channel of commerce that Washington pictured it; yet this picture of his is precious because it shows the enterprising heart of the man who first saw the light of a new and better day, and because in its essentials it all became wonderfully true when at last the West awoke.

A. B. H.

MARIETTA COLLEGE,
MARIETTA, OHIO,
July 13, 1905.

Washington's Diary of September Mdcc^{lxxxiv}.....

*Washington's Diary of September Mdcc*lxxxiv

[*Mount Vernon*] *September 1784*[1]

HAving found it indispensably necessary to visit my Landed property West of the Apalacheon Mountains,[2] and more especially that part of it which I held in Co-partnership with Mr. Gilbert Simpson.[3]—Having determined upon a tour into that Country,—and having made the necessary preparations for it,—I did, on the first day of this Month (September) set out on my journey

Having dispatched my equipage about 9 O'clock A.M: consisting of 3 Servants & 6 horses, three of which carried my Baggage, I set out myself in company with Docter James Craik;[4] and after dining at Mr. Sampson Tram-

mells

mells[5] (abt 2 Miles above the Falls Church) we proceeded to Difficulty Bridge,[6] and lodged at one Shepherds Tavern[7] 25 Miles

Sep. 2.

℄ About 5 O'clock we set out from Shepherds; and leaving the Baggage to follow slowly on, we arrived about 11 O'clock ourselves at Leesburgh,[8] where we Dined—The Baggage having joined we proceeded to Mr Israel Thompsons[9] & lodged mak[s] abt 36 M.

3d.

℄ Having business to transact with my Tenants in Berkeley; & others who were directed to meet me at my Brother's (Colo Charles Washington's),[10] I left Doctr Craik and the Baggage to follow slowly, and set out myself about Sun Rise for that place—where after Breakfasting at Keys. ferry[11] I arrived about 11 O'clock.—distant abt 17 Miles.—

Colo Warner Washington,[12] Mr Wormeley, Genl Morgan,[13] Mr Trickett and many other Gentlemen came here to see me.—& one object[14] of my journey being to obtain informa-

tion of the nearest and best communication between the Eastern & Western Waters; & to facilitate as much as in me lay the Inland Navigation of the Potomack; I conversed a good deal with Genl Morgan on this subject, who said, a plan was in contemplation to extend a Road from Winchester to the Western Waters, to avoid if possible an interference with any other State.[15]—but I could not discover that Either himself, or others, were able to point it out with precision.—He seemed to have no doubt but that the Counties of Frederk, Berkeley & Hampshire would contribute freely towards the extension of the Navigation of Potomack; as well as towards opening a Road from East to West.

4th

℄ Having finished my business with my Tenants (so far at least as partial payments could put a close to it)—and provided a Waggon for the transportation of my Baggage to the Warm springs (or Town of Bath) to give relief to my Horses, which from the extreme heat of the Weather began to Rub & gaul, I set out after

dinner, and reached Captn Stroads[16] a Substantial farmers betwn Opecken Creek & Martinsburg—distant by estimation 14 Miles from my Brothers.—

Finding the Captn an intelligent Man, and one who had been several times in the Western Country—tho' not much on the communication between the North Branch of Potomack, & the Waters of Monongahela—I held much conversation with him—the result of which so far as it respected the object I had in view, was, —that there are two Glades[17] which go under the denomination of the Great glades—one, on the Waters of Yohiogany, the other on those of Cheat River; & distinguished by the name of the Sandy Creek Glades.—that the Road to the first goes by the head of Pattersons Creek—that from the accts he has had of it, it is rough;—the distance he knows not.—That there is a way to the Sandy Creek Glades from the great crossing of Yohiogany (or Braddocks Road) & a very good one; but how far the Waters of Potomack above Fort Cumberland, & the Cheat River from its Mouth are Navigable, he professes not to know—and equally ignorant is he of the distance between them.—

He says that old Captn Thos Snearenger[18] has informed him, that the Navigable Water of the little Kanhawa comes within a small distance of the Navigable Waters of the Monongahela, & that a good Road, along a Ridge, may be had between the two.—& a young Man who we found at his House just (the evening before) from Kentucke told us, that he left the Ohio River at Wheeling (Colo David Shepperds,[18a] & in about 40 Miles came to Red Stone old Fort on the Monongahela, 50 Miles from its Mouth.—

Captn Stroudes rout[19] to the Westward having been for the most part by the way of New' River and the Hd' sten [Holston] through (what is called) the Wilderness, to Kentucke,—he adds that when he went out last fall he passed through Staunton, by the Augusta Springs, the Sweet springs, &ca to the New River; on which he fell about 10 miles as he was *told* above the Fall in that River, that falls are about 70 Miles from the Mouth, that a Vessel could not pass them tho' the perpendicular fall did not exceed Six feet.—

The distance from Staunton to the Springs, according to his acct is 45 Miles;—between the Springs 28 Miles; and from the Sweet springs

to the New River, 30.—in all, 103 from Staunton to the New River: from this part of the New River to the place called Chissels Mines, is passable for Canoes & Batteaux with little difficulty; & from thence to the Roanoke where it is as large as the Opeckon near his house is only 12 Miles & a tolerably level country.—

5th.

¶ Dispatched my Waggon (with the Baggage) at day light; and at 7 O'clock followed it.—bated at one Snodgrasses, on Back Creek[20]—and dined there; about 5 O clock P. M. we arrived at the Springs,—or Town of Bath[21]—after travelling the whole day through a drizling Rain, 30 Miles

6th.

¶ Remained at Bath all day. and was showed the Model of a Boat constructed by the ingenious Mr. Rumsey,[22] for ascending rapid currents by mechanism; the principles of this were not only shown, & fully explained to me, but to my very great satisfaction, exhibited in practice in private under the injunction of Secresy, untill he saw the effect of an application he was about

to Make to the Assembly of this State, for a reward.—

The Model, & its operation upon the water, which had been made to run pretty swift, not only convinced me of what I before thought next to, if not quite impracticable, but that it might be to the greatest possible utility in inland Navigation; and in rapid currents; that are shallow.—and what adds vastly to the value of the discovery, is the simplicity of its works; as they may be made by a common boat builder or carpenter, and kept in order as easy as a plow, or any common impliment of husbandry on a farm.—

Having obtained a Plan of this Town (Bath) and ascertained the situation of my lots therein, which I examined; it appears that the disposition of a dwelling House, Kitchen & Stable cannot be more advantageously placed than they are marked in the copy I have taken from the plan of the Town; to which I refer for recollection, of my design; & Mr. Rumsey being willing to undertake those Buildings,[23] I have agreed with him to have them finished by the 10th of next July.—

The dwelling House is to be 36 feet by 24, with a gallery of 7 feet on each side of the House, the whole fronts.—under the House is to be a Cellar half the size of it, walled with Stone, and the whole underpined.—on the first floor are to be 3 rooms; one of them 24 by 20 feet, with a chimney at the end (middle thereof) —the other two to be 12 by 16 feet with corner chimneys.—on the upper Floor there are to be two Rooms of equal sizes, with fire places; the Stair case to go up in the Gallery.—galleries above also.—The Kitchen and Stable are to be of the same size—18 by 22; the first with a stone Chimney and good floor above.—the Stable is to be sunk in the ground so as that the floor above it on the North, or side next the dwelling House, shall be level with the Yard. —to have a partition therein—the West part of which to be for a Carriage, Harness, and Saddles.—the East for Hay or Grain.—all three of the Houses to be shingled with [blank] Meeting with the Revd Mr Balmain at this place, he says the distance from Staunton to the Sweet Springs is 95 Miles; that is, 50 to what are commonly called the Augusta Springs

& 45 afterwards—this differs widely from Captn Strodes Acct, and both say they have travelled the Road.—

From Colo Bruce[34] whom I also found at this place, I was informed that he had travelled from the North Branch of Potomack to the Waters of Yaughiogany, and Monongahela—that the Potomk where it may be made Navigable—for instance where McCulloughs path[35] crosses it, 40 Miles above[35] the old fort (Cumberland), is but about 6 Miles to a pretty large branch of the Yohiogany, but how far it is practicable to make the latter navigable he knows not, never having explored it any length downwards.—that the Waters of Sandy Creek, which is a branch of cheat River, which is a branch of Monongahela, interlocks with these; and the Country between, flat—that he thinks (in order to evd passing through the State of Pennsylvania) this would be an eligible Road using the 10 Miles Ck with a portage to the Navigable Waters of the little Kanhawa; which from report he says, are only 10 Miles apart—he adds that the distance from the North branch to Cheat Rivr is great—and from the South

branch greater; but it is to be observed that most of this information is from Report—vague—and not much to be depended upon; I therefore endeavoured to prevail upon Colo Bruce to explore the Country from the North Branch of Potomack at Mc Culloughs path, or the highest practicable Navigation on it, to the Nearest Waters of Yohiogany—thence to Sandy Creek, & down that to its junction with the Cheat River—laying the whole down by actual surveys, & exact measurement; which he has promised to do, if he can accomplish it.—on my part I have engaged, if a Surveyor can be obtained, to run the Water of the little Kanhawa from the Mouth to the highest Navigation—thence across to the ten miles Creek on the Monongahela, & up that to the Mo of Sandy Creek, in order to connect the two Forks together, & form a proper plan with observations.—and even to continue up the Cheat River further, to see if a better communication cannot be had with the Potomac than by the Sandy Creek.—

Having hired three Pack horses—to give my own own greater relief—I sent my Bag-

gage of this day about one Oclock, and ordered those who had charge of it, to proceed to one Headricks at 15 Miles Creek.—

8th

¶ Set out about 7 Oclock with the Doctr (Craik) his Son William,[26] and my Nephew Bushrod Washington,[27] who were to make the tour with us.—about ten I parted with them at 15 Miles Creek,[28] & recrossed the Potomack (having passed it abt 3 Miles from the Springs before) to a tract of mine on the Virginia Side which I find exceedingly Rich, & must be very valuable.—the lower end of the Land is rich white oak in places[29] springey; and in the winter wet.—the upper part is exceedingly rich, and covered with Walnut of considerable size many of them.—Note—I requested a Mr Mc Craker at whose House I fed my horses, & got a snack, & whose land joins mine—to offer mine to any who might apply for £10 the first year, £15 the next, & £25 the third—the Tenant not to remove any of the Walnut timber from off the Land; or to split it into Rails; as I should reserve that for my own use.—

After having reviewed this Land I again crossed the River & getting into the Waggon Road pursued my journey to the old Town[30] where I overtook my Company & baggage— lodged at Colo Cresaps[31]—abt 35 Miles this day

9th

℔ Having discharged the hired Horses which were obtained at the springs & hired one more *only* to supply the place of one of mine, whose back was much hurt, we had them loaded by Six oclock, and was about to set out when it began to Rain; which looking very likely to continue thro the day, I had the Loads taken of to await the issue.—

at this place I met with a Man who lives at the Mouth of ten Miles Creek on Monongahela, who assured me, that this Creek is not Navigable for any kind of Craft a Mile from its Mouth;[32] unless the Water of it is swelled by Rain; at which time he has known Batteaux brought 10 or 12 Miles down it.— He knows little of the Country betwn that and the

little Kanahawa — & not more of that above him, on the Monongahela.—

The day proving rainy we remained here.—

10th

℄ Set off a little after 5 Oclock altho' the morning was very unpromising.—finding from the Rains that had fallen, and description of the Roads, part of which between the old Town & this place (old Fort Cumberland)[83] we had passed, that the progress of my Baggage would be tedeous, I resolved (it being necessary) to leave it to follow; and proceed on myself to Gilbert Simpson's, to prepare for the Sale which I had advertized of my moiety of the property in co-partnership with him—and to make arrangements for my trip to the Kanhawa, if the temper and disposition of the Indians should render it advisable to proceed.—Accordingly, leaving Doctr Craik, his Son, and My Nephew with it, I set out with one Servant only—dined at Mr Gwins[84] at the Fork of the Roads leading to Winchester and the old Town, distant from the latter abt 20 Miles

& lodged at Tumbersons[35] at the little Meadows 15 Miles further—

The Road from the Old Town to Fort Cumberland we found tolerably good, as it also was from the latter to Gwins, except the Mountain which was pretty long (tho' not steep) in the assent and discent: but from Gwins to Tumberson's it is intolerably bad—there being many steep pinches of the Mountain—deep & Miry places—and very Stony ground to pass over.—after leaving the Waters of Wills Creek which extends up the Mountain (Alligany) two or three Miles as the Road goes, we fell next on those of George's Creek which are small—after them, upon Savage River which are considerable: tho' from the present appearance of them, does not seem capable of Navigation.—

11th.

℄ Set out at half after 5 oclock from Tumbersons, & in about 1½ Miles came to what is called the little crossing of the Yohiogany[36]—the road not bad—this is a pretty considerable water and, as it is said to have no fall in it, may,

I conceive, be improved into a valuable navigation; and from every acct I have yet been able to obtain, communicates nearest with the Nº. Branch of Potomack of any other.—Breakfasted at one Mounts or Mountains,[37] 11 Miles from Tumberson's; the Road being exceedingly bad, especially through what is called the Shades of death.[38]—Bated at the great crossing,[39] which is a large Water, distant from Mounts 9 Miles, and a better Road than between that and Tumbersons—Lodged at one Daughertys[40] a Mile & half short of the Great Meadows—a tolerable good House—the road between the Crossing and Daughertys is in places, tolerable good, but upon the whole indifferent:—distant from the crossing 12 Miles.—

12th

℄ Left Daughertys about 6 Oclock,—stopped awhile at the Great Meadows[41] and viewed a tenament I have there,[42] which appears to have been but little improved, tho capable of being turned to great advantage, as the whole of the ground called the Meadows may be reclaimed at an easy comparitive expence & is a very good

stand for a Tavern—Much Hay may be cut here When the ground is laid down in Grass & the upland, East of the Meadow, is good for grain.—

Dined at Mr. Thomas Gists[43] at the Foot of Laurel, distant from the Meadows 12 Miles, and arrived at Gilbert Simpsons'[44] about 5 oclock 12 Miles further.—Crossing the Mountains, I found tedious and fatieguing.—from Fort Cumberland to Gwins took me one hour and Ten minutes riding—between Gwins & Tumbersons I was near 6 hours and used all the dispatch I could—between Tumbersons and Mount's I was full 4 hours—between Mounts and the crossing upwards of 3 hours—between the crossing and Daughertys 4 hours—between Daughertys and Gists 4¼.—and between Gists and Simpsons upwards of 3 hours and in all parts of the Road that would admit it I endeavoured to ride my usual travelling gate of 5 Miles an hour

In passing over the Mountains, I met numbers of Persons & Pack horses[45] going in with Ginseng; & for Salt & other articles at the Markets below; from most of whom I made enquiries of the nature of the Country between

the little Kanhawa and ten miles Creek (which had been represented as a short and easy portage) and to my surprize found the accts wch had been given were so far from the truth that numbers with whom I conversed assured me that the distance between was very considerable[46]—that ten Miles Ck. was not navigable even for Canoes more than a Mile from its mouth and few of them, altho I saw many who lived on different parts of this Creek would pretend to guess at the distance.—

I also endeavoured to get the best acct I could of the navigation of Cheat River, & find that the line which divides the States of Virginia & Pennsylvania crosses the Monongahela above the Mouth of it wch gives the command thereof to Pennsylvania.[47]—that where this River (cheat) goes through the Laurel hill, the navigation is difficult; not from shallow, or rapid water, but from an immense quantity of large Stones, which stand so thick as to render the passage even for a short Canoe impracticable—but I could meet with no person who seemed to have any accurate knowledge of the Country between the navigable, or such part as could be

 be

made so, of this River & the N°. Branch of Potomack—all seem to agree however that it is rough & a good way not to be found.—

The acc^ts. given by those whom I met of the late Murders, & general dissatisfaction of the Indians, occasioned by the attempt of our people to settle on the N°. West side of the Ohio, which they claim as their territory; and our delay to hold a treaty with them,[48] which they say is indicative of a hostile temper on our part, makes it rather improper for me to proceed to the Kanhawa agreeably to my original intention, especially as I learnt from some of them (one in particular) who lately left the Settlement of Kentucke that the Indians were generally in arms & gone, or going, to attack some of our Settlements below, and that a Party who had driven Cattle to Detroit had one of their Company, & several of their Cattle killed by the Indians—but as these acc^ts. will either be contradicted or confirmed by some whom I may meet at my Sale on the 15th Inst. my final determination shall be postponed till then.—

13th.

℄ I visited my Mill,[49] and the several tenements on this Tract (on which Simpson lives) —I do not find the land in *general* equal to my expectation of it—some part indeed is as rich as can be, some other part is but indifferent—the levellest is the coldest, and of the meanest quality—that which is most broken is the richest; tho' some of the hills are not of the first quality.

The Tenements with respect to buildings, are but indifferently improved—each have Meadow and arable, but in no great quantity.—the Mill was quite destitute of water—the works & House appear to be in very bad condition—and no reservoir of water—the stream as it runs, is all the resource it has;—formerly there was a dam to stop the water; but that giving way it is brought in a narrow confined & trifling Race to the forebay, wch and the trunk, which conveys the water to the wheel are in bad order—In a word, little Rent, or good is to be expected from the present aspect of her.—

14th

℄ Remained at Mr. Gilbert Simpsons all day.—before Noon Colo. Willm. Butler[50] and the officer Commanding the Garrison at Fort Pitt a Captn. Lucket[51] came here—as they confirmed the reports of the discontented temper of the Indians and the Mischiefs done by some parties of them—and the former advised me not to prosecute my intended trip to the Great Kanahawa, I resolved to decline it.—

This day also the people who lives on my land on Millers Run[52] came here to set forth their pretensions to it; & to enquire into my Right.—after much conversation & attempts in them to discover all the flaws they could in my Deed &ca.—& to establish a fair and upright intention in themselves.[53]—and after much councelling which proceeded from a division of opinion among themselves—they resolved (as all who lived on the land were not here) to give me their definite determination when I should come to the land, which I told them would probably happen on Friday or Saturday next.

15th

℄ This being the day appointed for the Sale of my moiety of the Co-partnership Stock[64]—many People were gathered (more out of curiosity I believe than from other motives) but no great Sale made.—My Mill I could obtain no bid for, altho I offered an exemption from the payment of Rent 15 Months.—The Plantation on which Mr Simpson lives rented well—viz for 500 Bushels of Wheat, payable at any place with in the County that I or my Agent should direct.—the little chance of getting a good offer in money, for Rent, induced me to set it up to be bid for in Wheat.—

Not meeting with any person who could give me a satisfactory acct of the Navigation of the Cheat River (tho' they generally agreed it was difficult where it passed thro' the Laurel Hill) nor any acct of the distance & kind of Country between that, or the Main branch of the Monongahela and the Waters of Potomac —nor of the Country between the little Kanhawa and the Waters of Monongahela tho' all agreed none of the former came near ten miles

Creek as had been confidently asserted; I gave up the intention of returning home that way—resolving after settling matters with those Persons who had seated my Lands on Millers Run, to return by the way I came; or by what is commonly called the Turkey foot Road.—

16th.

℄ Continued at Simpsons all day—in order to finish the business which was begun yesterday —Gave leases to some of my Tents on the Land whereon I now am—

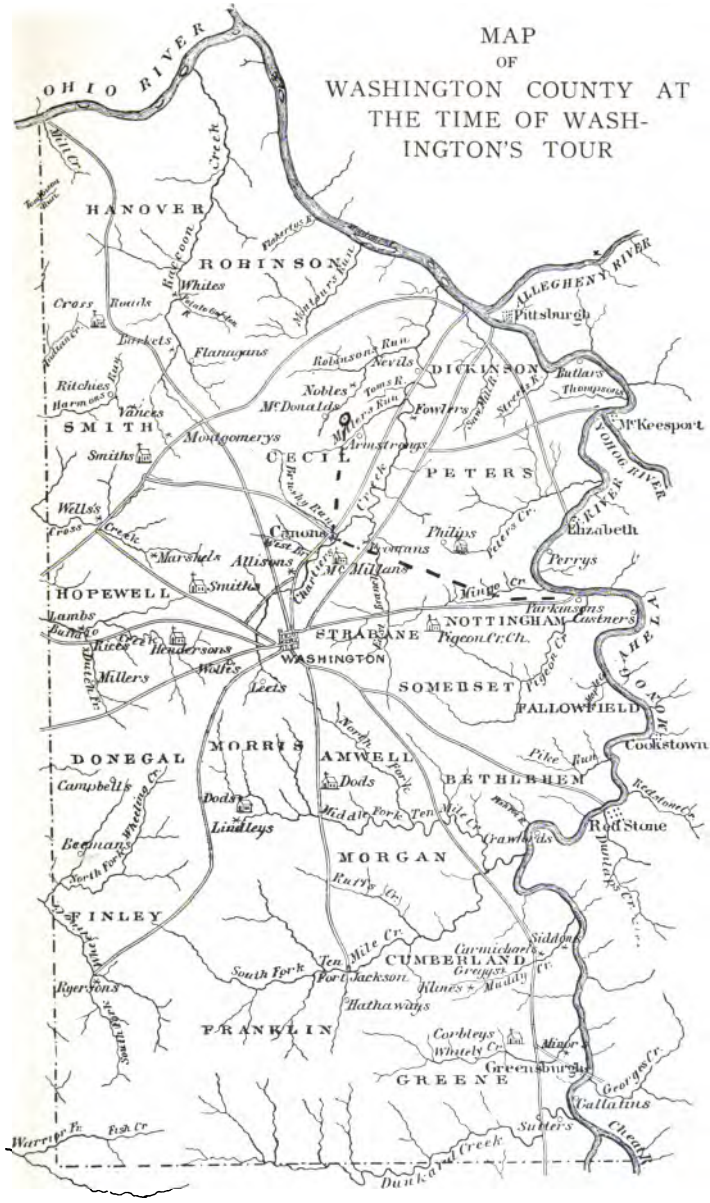
17th.

℄ Detained here by a settled Rain the whole day—which gave me time to close my accts. with Gilbert Simpson, & put a final end to my Partnership with him—Agreed this day with a Major Thomas Freeman[55] to superintend my business over the Mountains, upon terms to be inserted in his Instructions—

18th.

℄ Set out with Doctr. Craik for my Land on Millers Run (a branch of Shurtees Creek)[56]—

 Creek)[56]—


MAP
OF
WASHINGTON COUNTY AT
THE TIME OF WASH-
INGTON'S TOUR
OHIO RIVER
ALLEGHENY RIVER
YOHOG RIVER
AHELA
MONON
HANOVER
ROBINSON
DICKINSON
SMITH
CECIL
PETERS
HOPEWELL
STRABANE
NOTTINGHAM
SOMERSET
FALLOWFIELD
DONEGAL
MORRIS
AMWELL
BETHLEHEM
MORGAN
FINLEY
CUMBERLAND
FRANKLIN
GREENE
Pittsburgh
McKeesport
Elizabeth
Cookstown
Red Stone
Greensburgh
Gallatins
Canons
Allisons
McMillans
Smiths
Wells's
Marshels
Lambs
Rices
Hendersons
Millers
Wolfes
Leets
Dods
Lindleys
Campbells
Beemans
Ryersons
Fort Jackson
Hathaways
Corbleys
Whitely Cr.
Minor
Sutters
Carmichaels
Siddons
Grayys
Klines
Muddy Cr.
Ten Mile Cr.
Middle Fork
South Fork
North Fork
Wheeling Cr.
Dunkard Creek
Warrior Fr.
Fish Cr.
Cross Creek
Barkets
Flanagans
Ritchies
Vances
Montgomerys
Nobles
McDonalds
Armstrongs
Fowlers
Nevils
Robinsons Run
Tom's R.
Millers Run
Brushy Run
Chartiers Creek
Philips
Peters Cr.
Perrys
Mingo Cr.
Parkinsons
Castners
Pigeon Cr. Ch.
Pigeon Cr.
Pike Run
Redstone Cr.
Crawfords
Dunlaps Cr.
Georges Cr.
Cheat R.
Dutch Fr.
Buffalo Creek
Harmons Run
Mill Cr.
Whites
Cross Roads
Robinsons Run
Montours Run
Flakertys R.
Ten Mile Cr.
Muddy Cr.
Ruffs Cr.
Fish Cr.

crossed the Monongahela at Deboirs Ferry[57]— 16 miles from Simpsons—bated at one Hamiltons[58] about 4 Miles from it, in Washington County, and lodged at a Colo Cassons[59] on the Waters of Shurtees Creek—a kind hospitable Man; & sensible

Most of the Land over which we passed was hilly—some of it very rich—others thin —between a Colo Cooks[60] and the Ferry the Land was rich but broken—about Shurtee & from thence to Colo Cassons, the Soil is very luxurient and very uneven.—

19th.

℄ Being Sunday, and the People living on my Land, *apparently* very religious,[61] it was thought best to postpone going among them till tomorrow—but rode to a Doctr Johnsons[62] who had the keeping of Colo Crawfords (surveying Records—but not finding him at home was disappointed in the business which carried me there.—

20th.

℄ Went early this Morning to view my Land, & to receive the final determination of those

those

who live upon it[63]—having obtained a Pilot near the Land I went first to the plantation of Samuel Mc. Bride, who has about

5 Acres of Meadow—&
30 of arable Land

under good fencing—a Logged dwelling house with a punchion Roof, & Stable, or small barn, of the same kind—the Land rather hilly, but good, chiefly white oak.—next—

James Mc. Bride
3 or 4 Acres of Meadow
28 Do. of arable Land

Pretty good fencing—Land rather broken, but good—white & black oak mixed—a dwelling House and barn (of midling size) with Puncheon Roofs

Thomas Biggart
Robt. Walker living thereon as a Tenant.—
No Meadow.—abt.
20 Acres of arable Land

dwelling House and single barn—fences tolerable—and Land good.—

William Stewart
2½ Acres of Meadow
20 Do. of arable Land

only one house except a kind of building adjoining for common purposes.— good Land and Midling fences.—

Matthew Hillast

has within my line — abt

7 Acres of Meadow

3 besides, Arable — also

a small double Barn.—

Brice Mc Geechen

3 Acres of Meadow

20 Do arable.—under

good fencing.—A small new Barn good.—

Duncan Mc Geechen

2 Acres of Meadow.

38 Do Arable Land.

A good single Barn, dwelling House spring House & several other Houses.—the Plantation under good fencing.—

David Reed

claimed by the last mentioned (Duncan Mc-Geechen)

2 Acres of Meadow

18 Do Arable Land

No body living on this place at present — the dwelling House and fencing in bad order.

John Reed Esquire
4 Acres of Meadow
38 Dº Arable Dº
A Small dwelling House—but Logs for a large one, a Still House—good Land—and fencing

David Reed
2 Acres of Meadow
17 Dº Arable
A good logged dwelling House with a bad Roof—several other small Houses and an indifferent Barn, or Stable—bad fences; but very good Land

William Hillas
20 Acres of Arable Land
No Meadow
But one house, and that indifferent—fences not good

John Glen
2 or 3 Acres of Meadow within my Line —his plantation & the next of his Land without.—

James Scott
Placed on the Land by Thomas Lapsley—has 17 Acres under good fencing—only a dwelling House (which stops the door of a Cabbin built

 built

by Captn Crawford)—white oak Land—rather thin—but good bottom *to clear* for Meadow.—

Matthew Johnson
2 Acres of Meadow
24 Do Arable Land

a good logged house—Materials for a dble Barn—very gd Land, but indifferent fences

James Scott.
a large Plantation "—about
70 Acres of Arable Land
4 Do of improved Meadow

Much more may be made into Meadow.—the Land very good, as the fences also are— A Barn dwelling House & some other Houses.—

The foregoing are all the Improvements upon this Tract which contains 2813 Acres—

The Land is leveller than is common to be met with in this part of the Country, and good; the principal part of it is white oak, intermixed in many places with black oak; and is estemed a valuable tract.—

Dined at David Reeds, after which Mr James Scot & Squire Reed began to enquire whether I would part with the Land, & upon what terms; adding, that tho' they did not con-

ceive they could be dispossed, yet to avoid contention, they would buy, if my terms were Moderate.— I told them I had no inclination to sell; however, after hearing a good deal of their hardships, their Religious principles (which had brought them together as a society of Ceceders) and unwillingness to seperate or remove; I told them I would make them a last offer and this was—the whole tract at 25 S. pr Acre, the money to be paid at 3 annual payments with Interest;—or to become Tenants upon leases of 999 years, at the annual Rent of Ten pounds pr Cn pr Ann.—The former they had a long consultation upon, & asked if I wd take that price at a longer credit, without Interest, and being answered in the Negative they then determined to stand suit for the Land; but it having been suggested that there were among them some who were disposed to relinquish their claim, I told them I would receive their answers individually; and accordingly calling upon them as they stood

James Scott
William Stewart
Thomas Lapsley

James Mc. Bride
Brice Mc. Geechin
Thomas Biggar
David Reed
William Hillas
James Mc. Bride
Duncan Mc. Geechin
Matthew Johnson
John Reed—&
John Glen—they severally answered, that they meant to stand suit, & abide the Issue of the Law.—

This business being thus finished, I returned to Colo. Cassons in Company with himself, Colo. Nevil,[65] Captn. Swearingin (high Sherif)[66] & a Captn. Richie,[67] who had accompanied me to the Land.—

21st.

℄ Accompanied by Colo. Casson & Capn. Swearingin who attended me to Debores ferry on the Monongahela which seperates the Counties of Fayette and Washington, I returned to Gilbert Simpson's in the afternoon; after dining at one Wickermans Mill near the Monongahela.—

Colo. Casson, Captn. Sweringin & Captn Richie all promised to hunt up the Evidences which could prove my possession & improvement of the Land before any of the present Occupiers ever saw it

22d.

¶After giving instructions to Major Thomas Freeman respecting his conduct in my business, and disposing of my Baggage which was left under the care of Mr. Gilbert Simpson—consisting of two leather & one linnen Valeses with my Marquee & horseman's Tent Tent Poles & Pins—all my bedding except Sheets (which I take home with me)—the equipage Trunk containing all that was put into it except the Silver Cups and Spoons—Canteens—two Kegs of Spirits—Horse Shoes—&cs. I set out for Beason Town,[68] in order to meet with, & engage Mr. Thos. Smith[69] to bring Ejectments, for the Land in Washington County, on which those, whose names are herein inserted, are settled. Reached Beason Town about dusk about (the way I came) 18 miles.

Note.—in my equipage Trunk and the Canteens—were Madeira and Port Wine—Cherry bounce—Oyl, Mustard—Vinegar—and Spices of all sorts—Tea, and Sugar in the Camp Kettles (a whole loaf of white sugar broke up about 7 lbs weight) the Camp Kettles are under a lock, as the Canteens & Trunk also are—My fishing lines are in the Canteens.—

At Beason Town I met with Captn. Hardinn who informed me, as I had before been informed by others, that the West fork of Monongahela communicates very nearly with the waters of the little Kanhawa—that the Portage does not exceed Nine Miles—and that a very good Waggon Road may be had between—That from the Mouth of the River Cheat to that of the West Fork, is computed to be about 30 Miles, & the Navigation good—as it also is up the West fork.—that the South or Main branch of the Monongahela has considerable impediments in the Way; and were it otherwise, would not answer the purpose of a communication with the North or South branch of Potomack from the westerly direction in which it runs—That the Cheat

Cheat

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River, tho' rapid and bad, has been navigated to the Dunkard bottom about 25 Miles from its mouth—and that he has understood a good way may be had from thence to the North branch, which he thinks must be about 30 Miles distant.—He also adds, that from the Settlem.ts on the East of the Alligany, to Monongahela Court House on the West, it is reported a very good Road may be opened, and is already marked; from whence to the Navigable Water of the little Kanhawa is ab.t [omitted] Miles.—

From this information I resolved to return home that way; & my Baggage under the care of Doct.r Craik and Son, having, from Simpsons, taken the Rout by the New (or Turkey foot) Road.n as it is called (which is said to be 20 Miles near[er] than Braddocks) with a view to make a more minute enquiry into the Navigation of the Yohiogany Waters —My Nephew and I set out about Noon, with one Col.o Philips.n for Cheat River; after I had engaged M.r Smith to undertake my business & had given him such information as I was able to do.

Note, It is adjudged proper to ascertain the date of the Warrt. to Captn. Posey[73]—and the identity of his hand writing to his Bond to me; the latter so as to give it authenticity.—as also the date of hewis's [Lewis's] return, on which my Patent Issued—because if this is antecedent to the settlement of the occupiers of my Land, it will put the matter out of all kind of dispute; as the claim of those people rests upon their possessing the Land before I had any legal Survey of it—not viewing Crawfords as authentic. —'Tis advisable also, to know whether any location of it was ever made in the Land, or Surveyors Office, and the date of such Entry.—and likewise, what Ordainance it is Captn. Crawford speaks of in his Letter of the 20th of Septr. 1776 which passed he says the last Convention, for saving equitable claims on the Western Waters.[74]

23d.

℄ Arrived at Colo. Philips abt. five oclock in the afternoon 16 Miles from Beason Town & near the Mouth of Cheat Rivr. the land thro' wch. I rid was for the most part tolerably level —in some places rich—but in general of a

of a

second quality—crossed no water of consequence except Georges Creek—

An Apology made to me from the Court of Fayette (thro' Mr. Smith) for not addressing me; as they found my Horses Saddled and myself on the move.—

Finding by enquiries, that the Cheat River had been passed with Canoes thro' those parts which had been represented as impassable—and that a Captn. Hanway—the Surveyor of Monongahela [Monongalia] County lived within two or three Miles of it, South side thereof; I resolved to pass it to obtain further information,—& accordingly (accompanied by Colo. Philips) set of in the morning of the

24th.

¶ And crossed it at the mouth,[75] as it was thought the River was too much swelled to attempt the ford a little higher up.—the fork was about 2 Miles & half from Colo. Philips & the ground betwn. very hilly tho' rich in places. —The Cheat at the Mouth is about 125 yds. wide—the Monongahela near dble. that—the colour[76] of the two Waters is very differt., that of

 that of

Cheat is dark (occasioned as is conjectured by the Laurel, among which it rises, and through which it runs) the other is clear; & there appears a repugnancy in both to mix, as there is a plain line of division betwn. the two for some distance below the fork; which holds, I am told near a Mile.—the Cheat keeps to the right shore as it descends, & the other the left.—

The Line which divides the Commonwealths of Virginia & Pennsylvania crosses both these Rivers about two Miles up each from the point of fork—& the Land between them is high as the line runs being a ridge which seperates the two Waters—but higher up the fork a good road (it is said) may be had from one River to the other.—

from the Fork to the Surveyors Office, which is at the house of one Pierpoint,[77] is about 8 Miles along the dividing Ridge.—at this Office I could obtain no information of any Surveys or Entrie made for me by Captn. Wm. Crawford; but from an examination of his books it appeared pretty evident that the 2500 acres which he (Crawford) had surveyed for & offered to me on the little Kanhawa (adjoining

(adjoining

the large survey under the proclamation of 1754) he had entered for Mr. Robert Rutherford—and that the other tract in the fork between the Ohio & little Kanhawa had been entered by Doctr. Briscoe & Sons.[78]—

Pursuing my inquiries respecting the Navigation of the Western Waters, Captn. Hanway proposed, if I would stay all Night, to send to Monongahela Ct. House at Morgan town, for Colo. Zachy. Morgan[79] and others; who would have it in their power to give the best acct. that were to be obtained, which, assenting to, they were sent for & came,—& from them I received the following intelligence

viz —

That from the fork of the Monongahela & Cheat, to the Court House at Morgan Town, is, by Water, about 11 Miles, & from thence to the West fork of the former is 18 More.—from thence to the carrying place between it and a branch of the little Kanhawa, at a place called Bullstown,[80] is about 40 Miles by Land—more by Water—and the Navigation good—The carrying place is nine Miles and a half between the navigable parts of the two Waters; and a

good Road between; there being only one hill in the way, and that not bad.—hence to ye Mo. of the Kanhawa is 50 Miles.—

That from Monongahela Court House 15 Miles along the New Roadst which leads into Braddocks Road, East of the winding ridge, and Mc. Culloch's path, to one Joseph Logston's on the North branch of Potomack is about 40 Miles—that this way passes through Sandy Creek glades, and the glades of Yohiogany, and may be made good.—but, if the Road should go from Clarke's Town on the Western fork of Monongahela, 15 Miles below the carrying place to the aforesaid Logston's it would cross Tyger Valley River (the largest branch of Monongahela) above the falls therein, go through the glades of Monongahela; cross Cheat River at the Dunkers bottom (25 Miles from its Mouth)—and thence through the Glades of Yohiogany—in all fm. ye. Kah.a 85 Miles

That the Cheat River where it runs through the Laurel hill is, in their opinion, so incomoded with large Rock stones, rapid, and dashing water from one Rock to another, as to be-

to be-

come impassable; especially as they do not think a passage sufficient to admit a Canal can be found between the Hills & the common bed of the River—but of these matters none of them pretended to speak from actual knowledge, or observation; but from Report, and partial views.—

That from these rapids to the Dunkers bottom, & four Miles above, the Navigation is very good;—after which for 8 Miles, the River is very foul, & worse to pass than it is through the Laurel hill; but from thence upwards thro' the horse Shoe bottom, & many Miles higher, it is again good, & fit for transportation; but (tho' useful to the Inhabitants thereof) will conduce nothing to the general plan, as it is thought no part of the Cheat River runs nearer to the navigable part of the N°. branch of Potomack than the Dunkers bottom does, which they add is about 25 Miles of good road. From the Dunkers bottom to Clarkes Town they estimate 35 Miles, and say the Tyger Valley fork of the Monongahela affords good navigation above the falls which is 7 Miles only from the Mouth, & is a Cateract of 25 feet.

25th.

¶ Having obtained the foregoing information, and being indeed some what discouraged from the acct. given of the passage of the Cheat River through the Laurel hill and also from attempting to return by the way of the Dunkers bottom, as the path it is said is very blind & exceedingly grown up with briers, I resolved to try the other Rout, along the New Road to Sandy Creek; & thence by Mc. Cullochs path to Logstons; and accordingly set of before Sunrise.—

Within 3 Miles I came to the River Cheat abt. 7 Miles from its Mouth—at a ferry kept by one Ice;[82] of whom making inquiry, I learnt that he himself, had passed from the Dunkers bottom both in Canoes and with Rafts.—That a new Canoe which I saw at his Landing had come down the day before only, (the owner of which had gone to Sandy Creek)—that the first rapid was about 1½ Miles above his ferry —that it might be between 50 and 100 yards thro' it—that from this to the Next, might be a Mile, of good water—That these 2 Rapids were much alike, & of the same extent; that to

the next rapid, which was the worst of the three, it was about 5 Miles of smooth water.—That the difficulty of passing these rapids lies more in the number of large Rocks which choak the River, and occasion the water not only (there being also a greater dissent here than elsewhere) to run swift, but meandering thro' them renders steerage dangerous by the sudden turnings.—That from his ferry to the Dunkers bottom, along the River, is about 15 Miles; and in his opinion, there is room on one side or the other of it at each side of the Rapids for a Canal.—

This acct being given from the Mans own observation, who seemed to have no other meaning in what he asserted than to tell the truth, tho' he, like others, who for want of competent skill in these things cou'd not distinguish between real & imaginary difficulties, left no doubt on my Mind of the practicability of opening an easy passage by Water to the Dunker bottom.—the River at his house may be a hundred or more yards wide, according to his acct (which I believe is rather large) near a hundred miles by water to Fort Pitt.

The Road from Morgan Town or Monon-

gahela Ct House, is said to be good to this ferry —distance abt 6 Miles—the dissent of the hill to the River is rather Steep & bad—and the assent from it, on the North side, is steep also tho' short, and may be rendered much better; —from the ferry the Laurel hill[83] is assended by an easy and almost imperceptible slope to its summit thro' dry white Oak Land.[29]—along the top of it the Road continues for some distance, but is not so good; as the Soil is richer, deeper & more stony. which inconveniences (for good roads) also attends the dissent on the East side, tho' it is regular & in no places steep.— After crossing this hill the road is very good to the ford of Sandy Creek at one James Spurgeons,[84] abt 15 Miles from Ice's ferry.

At the crossing of this Creek Mc Cullochs path,[85] which owes its origen to Buffaloes, being no other than their tracks from one lick to another & consequently crooked & not well chosen, strikes off from the New road which passes great Yohiogany 15 Miles further on, and enters Braddock Road at the place before mentioned, at the distance of 22 Miles.

From Spurgeon's to one Lemons,[86] which

 which

is a little to the right of Mc. Cullochs path, is reckoned 9 Miles, and the way not bad; but from Lemons to the entrance of the Yohiogany glades which is estimated 9 Miles more thro' a deep rich Soil in some places, and a very rocky one in others, with steep hills & what is called the briery Mountain[87] to cross is intolerable but these might be eased & a much better way found if a little pains was taken to slant them.—

At the entrance of the above glades I lodged this night,[88] with no other shelter or cover than my cloak. & was unlucky enough to have a heavy shower of Rain.—our horses were also turned loose to cater for themselves having nothing to give them.—from this place my guide (Lemon) informed me that the Dunkers bottom was not more than 8 Miles from us.—

It may not be amiss to observe, that Sandy Creek has a fall within a few miles of its Mouth of 40 feet, & being rapid besides, affords no navigation at all.—

26th.

℄ Having found our Horses readily (for they nevr. lost sight of our fire) we started at the

 the

dawning of day, and passing along a small path much enclosed with weeds and bushes, loaded with Water from the overnights rain & the showers which were continually falling, we had an uncomfortable travel to one Charles friends,[89] about 10 Miles; where we could get nothing for our horses, and only boiled Corn for ourselves.—

In this distance, excepting two or three places which abounded in Stone, & no advantage taken of the hills (which were not large) we found the ground would admit an exceedingly good Waggon Road with a little causeying of Some parts of the Glades; the Ridges between being chiefly white oak land, intermixed with grit & Stone.—

Part of these glades is the property of Govr. Johnson[90] of Maryland who has settled two or three families of Palatines upon them—These glades have a pritty appearance,[91] resembling cultivated Lands & Improved Meadows at a distance; with woods here and there interspersed.—Some of them are rich, with a black and lively Soil—others are of a stiffer, & colder Nature.—all of them feel, very early, the effect of frost.—the growth of them, is a grass not

much unlike what is called fancy grass, without the variegated colours of it; much intermixed in places with fern and other weeds, as also with alder & other Shrubs.—The Land between these glades is chiefly white oak, on a dry stony Soil.—In places there are Walnut & Crab tree bottoms, which are very rich—The glades are not so level as one would imagine—in general they rise from the small water courses which run through all of them to the Ridges which seperate one from another—but they are highly benificial to the circumjacent Country from whence the Cattle are driven to pasture in the spring & recalled at Autumn.—

A Mile before I came to Friends, I crossed the Great branch of Yohiogany,[92] which is about 25 or 30 yards over; and impassable, according to his acct between that and Braddocks Road on acct of the Rapidity of the Water, quantity of Stone, & Falls therein—but these difficulties, in the eyes of a proper examiner, might be found altogether imaginary; and if so, the Navigation of the Yohiogany & Nº Branch of Potomack may be brought within 10 Miles & a good Waggon Road betwn; but

then, the Yohiogany lyes altogether in the State of Pennsylvania whose inclination (regardless of the interest of that part which lyes West of the Laurel hill) would be opposed to the extension of this navigation, as it would be the inevitable means of withdrawing from them the trade of all their western territory.—

The little Yohiogany from Braddocks Road to the Falls below the Turkey foot, or 3 forks, may, in the opinion of Friend, who is a great Hunter, & well acquainted with all the Waters, as well as hills, having lived in that Country and followed no other occupation for nine years, be made navigable—and this, were it not for the reason just assigned, being within 22 Miles of Fort Cumberland, would open a very important door to the trade of that Country,

He is also of opinion that a very good road may be had from the Dunkers bottom to the Nº. Branch of Potomack, at or near where Mr. Cullocks path crosses it; and that the distance will not exceed 22 Miles, to pass by his house, i. e. 10 to the Nº. Branch & 12 to the Dunkers bottom—half of which (10 or 11 Miles)

 Miles)

will go through the glades, & white Oak ridges which seperate them

There will be an intervention of two hills in this road—the back bone near the Branch —and the Briery Mountain near the Bottom, both of which may be easily passed in the lowest parts by judicious slants, & these with some Causeys in the richest & deepest parts of the glades will enable a common team to draw twenty hundred with ease from one place to the other.—

From Friends I passed by a spring (distant 3 Miles) called Archy's[93] from a Man of that name—cross the back bone & descended into Ryans glade[94].—Thence by Thos. Logston's[95] (the father of Joseph)—The way & distances as follow—to the foot of the back bone, about 5 Miles of very good ground for A Road; being partly glady, and partly white Oak Ridges. —across the Ridge to Ryans glade One Mile and half bad, the hill being steep, & in places Stony—to Joseph Logston's[96] 1½ Miles very good going—to the N. Branch at Mc. Cullochs path 2 Miles—infamous road—and to Thos. Logstons[97] 4 more, partly pretty good, &

 good, &

in places very bad but it has been observed before to what fortuitous circumstances the paths of this Country owe their being, & how much the ways may be better chosen by a proper investigation of it; and the distances from place to place reduced.—This appear'd evident from my own observation—and from young Logston, who makes hunting his chief employment; and according to his own acct. is acquainted with every hill & rivulet between the North Branch & the Dunkers bottom,

He asserts that from Ryan's glade to the No. branch, 2 Miles below the Mouth of Stony River (wch is about 4 below Mc. Cullochs crossing) a very good Road may be traced, and the distance not more than it is from the same place to the crossing last mentioned, which is a circumstance of some importance as the No. Branch above its junction with Stony River (which of the two seems to contain most water) would hardly afford water for Navigation—

He agrees precisely with Charles Friends respecting the Nature of the Road between the North Branch and the Dunkers bottom; but insists upon it that the distance will not exceed

 exceed

20 Miles—& that Friends ought to be left two Miles to the Westward—this may acct. for their difference of opinion; the latter wanting his House to be introduced as a stage and here it may be well to observe; that however knowing these people are, their accts. are to be received with great caution—compared with each other—and these again with one's own observatns.; as private views are as prevalent in this, as any other Country; and are particularly exemplified in the article of Roads; which (where they have been marked) seem calculated more to promote individual interest, than the public good.—

From the reputed distances, as I have given them from place to place between Monongahela Court House and the No. branch at Mc. Cullochs ford, & description of the Country over which I travelled, it should seem that Col°. Morgan and those with whom I had the meeting at Captn. Hanway, are mistaken in two points.—viz—measurement, & the goodness of Road—They making the distance between those places only 40 Miles and the way good, whereas by my Acct. the first is computed 55

74 55

Miles and a part of the Road very bad—both however are easily accounted for; the rout being circuitous, & beasts instead of Men having traced it out.—Altho I was seldom favored with a sight of the Sun but handsomely besprinkled with Rain the greater part of the way it was evident to me that from Pierpoints (Captn. Hanways Quartrs.) to the crossing of Sandy Creek, I rid in a Nº. Et. direction—from thence for many Miles South—and afterwards South Easterly.

I could obtain no good acct. of the Navigation of the Nº. Branch between Mr. Culloch's crossing [Fort Pendleton] and Will's Creek (or Fort Cumberland) indeed there were scarce any persons of whom inquiries could be made: for, from Lemon's to old Logstons there is only Friend & young Logston living on the track I came and none on it for 20 Miles below him—but in general I could gather from them, especially from Joseph Logston, who has (he says) hunted along the Water course of the River that there is no fall in it—that from Fort Cumberland to the Mouth of Savage River the water being good is frequently made use of in its

in its

present State with Canoes—and from thence upwards, is only rapid in places with loose Rocks which can readily be removed

From the Mouth of Savage River the State of Maryland (as I was informed) were opening a Road to their western boundary which was to be met by another which the Inhabitants of Monongahela County (in Virginia) were extending to the same place from the Dunker bottom through the glades of Yohiogany making in the aggregate abt 35 Miles—this Road will leave Friends according to his acct a little to the Eastward & will upon the whole be a *good* Road but not *equal* to the *one* which may be traced from the Dunkers bottom to the Nº Branch at, or below the fork of it & Stony River

At this place—viz Mr Thos Logston's—I met a brother of his, an intelligent man, who informed me that some years ago he had travelled from the Mouth of Carpenters Creek (now more generally known by the name of Dunlaps) a branch of Jackson's, which is the principal prong of James River[98] to the Mouth of Howards Creek wch emptys into the Greenbrier a large branch of New River abt Great Kana-

hawa—that the distance between them does not exceed 20 Miles—and not a hill in the way.—If this be fact, and he asserts it positively, a communication with the Western Country that way, if the falls in the Great Kanhawa (thro the gauly Mountn) Can be rendered navigable will be as ready,—perhaps more direct than any other for all the Inhabitants of the Ohio & its Waters below the little Kanhawa —and that these Falls are not so tremendous as some have represented I am inclined to believe from several Circumstances — one of which, in my mind, is conclusive—so far at least—as they do not amount to a Cataract, and that is that Fish ascend them—it being agreed on all hands that the large Cats and other fish of the Ohio are to be met with in great abundance in the River above them.—

27th.

I left Mr Logston's a little after day break —at 4 Miles thro' bad road, occasioned by Stone, I crossed the Stony River;[99] which, as hath been before observed, appears larger than the No Branch—at ten Miles I had by an im-

perceptible rise, gained the summit of the Alligany Mountain and began to desend it where it is very steep and bad to the Waters of Pattersons Creek which embraces those of New Creek—along the heads of these, & crossing the Main Creek & Mountain bearing the same name (at the top of which at one Snails I dined) I came to Colo. Abrahm. Hites[100] at Fort pleasant on the South Branch about 35 Miles from Logstons a little before the Suns setting.

My intention, when I set out from Logstons, was to take the Road to Kumney [Romney] by one Parkers but learning from my guide (Joseph Logston) when I came to the parting paths at the foot of the Alligany (abt. 12 Miles) that it was very little further to go by Fort pleasant, I resolved to take that Rout as it might be more in my power on that part of the Branch to get information of the extent of its navigation than I should be able to do at Rumney.—

28th.

¶ Remained at Colo. Hite's all day to refresh myself and rest my Horses, having had a very

faticguing journey thro' the Mountains, occasioned not more for the want of accomodation & the real necessaries of life than the showers of Rain which were continually falling & wetting the bushes—the passing of which, under these circumstances was very little better than swimming of Rivulets.

From Colo Hite, Colo Josh Neville & others, I understood that the navigation of the South Branch in its present State, is made use of from Fort pleasant to its Mouth—that the most difficult part in it, and that would not take £100 to remove the obstruction (it being only a single rift of rocks across in one place) is 2 Miles below the old Fort.—that this, as the Road goes, is 40 Miles; by water more—and that, from any thing they knew, or believe to the contrary, it might at this moment be used 50 Miles higher, if any benefits were to result from it.—

29th

℄ Having appointed to join Doctr Craik and my Baggage at Colo Warner Washington's, but finding it required only one day more to take the Rout of Mr Thos Lewis's (near Stanton)

from whose Office I wanted some papers to enable me to prosecute my ejectments of those who had possessed themselves of my Land in the County of Washington, State of Pensylvania; and that I might obtain a more distinct acct of the Communication between Jackson's River & the green Brier;—I sent my Nephew Bushrod Washington (who was of my party) to that place to request the Doctr to proceed—& accompanied by Captn Hite, son to the Colonel, I set out for Rockingham[101] in which County Mr Lewis now lives since the division of Augusta.—

Proceeding up the So fork of the So Branch about 24 Miles—bated our Horses & obtained something to eat ourselves, at one Rudiborts.—Thence taking up a branch & following the same about 4 Miles thro' a very confined & rocky path, towards the latter part of it, we ascended a very steep point of the So Branch Mountain, but which was not far across, to the No fork of Shanondoah;—down which by a pretty good path which soon grew into a considerable road, we discended until we arrived at one Fishwaters in Brocks gap,[102] about Eight

Miles from the foot of the Mountain—12 from Rudiborts—& 36 from Colon. Hites—This gap is occasioned by the above branch of Shannondoahs running thro' the Cacapehen & North Mountains for about 20 Miles and affords a good road, except being Stony & crossing the Water often.—

30th

℄ Set out early—Captn Hite returning home —and travelled 11 or 12 Miles along the River, until I had passed thro' the gap—then bearing more westerly by one Bryan's—the Widow Smith's—and one Gilberts, I arrived at Mr Lewis's about Sundown, after riding about 40 Miles—leaving Rockingham Ct House to my right about 2 Miles

October 1st

℄ Dined at Mr Gabriel Jones's, not half a mile from Mr Lewis's, but seperated by the South fork of Shannondoah; which is between 80 and a hundred yards wide & makes a respectable appearance altho' little short of 150 Miles

from its confluence with Potomack River; and only impeded in its navigation by the rapid water & rocks which are between the old bloomery and Keys's ferry; and a few other Ripples; all of which might be easily removed. —and the navigation according to Mr. Lewis's account, extended at least 30 Miles higher than where he lives.—

I had a good deal of conversation with this Gentleman on the Waters, and trade of the Western Country; and particularly with respect to the Navigation of the Great Kanhawa and its communication with James, & Roanoke Rivers.—

His opinion is, that the easiest & best communication between the Eastern & Western Waters is from the North branch of Potomack to Yohiogany or Cheat River; and ultimately that the Trade between the two Countries will settle in this Channel.—That altho James River has an easy & short communication from the Mouth of Carpenters or Dunlaps Creek to the Green briar which in distance & kind of Country is exactly as Logston described them, yet, that the passage of the New River, abe

Kahhawa, thro' the gauly Mountain from every acct he has had of it, now is, and ever will be attended with considerable difficulty, if it should not prove impracticable.—The Fall he has understood, altho' it may be short of a Cateract, or perpendicular tumble, runs with the velocity of a stream discending a Mountain, and is besides very Rocky & closely confined between rugged hills.—He adds, that from all appearance, a considerable part of the Water with which the River above abounds, sinks at or above this Rapid or Fall, as the quantity he says, from report, is greatly diminished, however, as it is not to his own observations, but report these accts are had, the real difficulty in surmounting the obstructions here described may be much less than are apprehended; wch supposition is well warranted by the ascertion of the Fish.—

Mr Lewis is of opinion that if the obstructions in this River can be removed, that the easiest communication of all, would be by the Roanoke, as the New River and it are within 12 Miles, and an excellent Waggon Road between them—and no difficulty that ever he

heard of, in the former, to hurt the inland Navigation of it.

2d

℔ I set off very early from Mr Lewis's who accompanied me to the foot of the blew Ridge at Swift run gap,[103] 10 Miles, where I bated and proceeded over the Mountain—dined at a pitiful house 14 Miles further where the Roads to Fredericksburgh (by Orange Ct House) & that to Culpeper Court House fork.—took the latter, tho' in my judgment Culpeper Court House was too much upon my right for a direct course—Lodged at a Widow Yearlys 12 Miles further where I was hospitably entertained.

3d

℔ Left Quarters before day, and breakfasted at Culpeper Court house[104] which was estimated 21 Miles, but by bad direction I must have travelled 25, at least.—crossed Normans ford 10 Miles from the Court Ho and lodged at Captn John Ashbys[105] occasioned by other bad directions, which took me out of the proper Road, which ought to have been by Elk Run Church 3 or 4 Miles to the right.—

4th

℄ Notwithstanding a good deal of Rain fell in the Night and the continuance of it this morning (which lasted till about 10 Oclock) I breakfasted by Candlelight, and Mounted my horse soon after daybreak; and having Captn Ashby for a guide thro' the intricate part of the Road (which ought, tho' I missed it, to have been by Prince William old Court Hº) I arrived at Colchester, 30 Miles, to Dinner; and reached home before Sun down; having travelled on the same horses since the first day of September by the computed distances 680 Miles.—

And tho' I was disappointed in one of the objects which induced me to undertake this journey namely to examine into the situation quality and advantages of the Land which I hold upon the Ohio and Great Kanhawa—and to take measures for rescuing them from the hands of Land Jobbers and Speculators—who I had been informed regardless of my legal & equitable rights, Patents, &cª; had enclosed them within other Surveys & were offering them for Sale at Philadelphia and in Europe.—

 Europe.—

I say notwithstanding this disappointment I am well pleased with my journey, as it has been the means of my obtaining a knowledge of facts—coming at the temper & disposition of the Western Inhabitants—and making reflections thereon, which, otherwise, must have been as wild, incoher[t], or perhaps as foreign from the truth, as the inconsistency, of the reports which I had received even from those to whom most credit seemed due, generally were

These reflections remain to be summed up

The more then the Navigation of Potomack is investigated, & duely considered, the greater the advantages arising from them appear.—

The South or principal branch of Shannondoah at M[r] Lewis's is, to traverse the river, at least 150 Miles from its Mouth; all of which, except the rapids between the Bloomery and Keys's ferry, now is, or very easily may be made navigable for inland Craft, and extended 30 Miles higher.—The South Branch of Potomack is already navigated from its Mouth to Fort

Pleasant; which, as the Road goes, is 40 computed Miles; & the only difficulty in the way (and that a very trifling one) is just below the latter, where the River is hemmed in by the hills or mountains on each side—From hence, in the opinion of Colº Joseph Neville and others, it may, at the most trifling expense imaginable, be made navigable 50 Miles higher.—

To say nothing then of the smaller Waters, such as Patterson's Creek, Cacapehen, Opeckon &cª; which are more or less Navigable;—and of the branches on the Maryland side, these two alone (that is the South Branch & Shannondoah) would afford water transportation for all that fertile Country between the bleu ridge and the Alligany Mountains; which is immense —but how trifling when viewed upon that immeasurable scale, which is inviting our attention!

The Ohio River embraces this Commonwealth from its Northern, almost to its Southern limits.—It is now, our western boundary. —& lyes nearly parallel to our exterior, & thickest settled Country.—

Into this River French Creek, big bever

[Beaver] Creek, Muskingham, Hockhocking, Scioto, and the two Miamis (in its upper Region) and many others (in the lower) pour themselves from the westward through one of the most fertile Country's of the Globe; by a long inland navigation; which, in its present state, is passable for Canoes and such other small craft as has, thitherto, been made use of for the Indian trade.—

French Creek, down wch I have myself come to Venango,[106] from a lake near its source, is 15 Miles from Prisque [Pres'que] Isle[107] on lake Erie; and the Country betw^n^ quite level. —Both big bever creek and Muskingham, communicates very nearly with Cuyahoga; which runs into lake Erie; the portage with the latter (I mean Muskingham) as appears by the Maps, is only one mile; and by many other acc^ts^ very little further; and so level between, that the Indians and Traders, as is affirmed, always drag their Canoes from one River to the other when they go to War—to hunt,—or trade.—The great Miame, which runs into the Ohio, communicates with a River of the same name [Maumee], as also with Sandusky, which empty

themselves into lake Erie, by short and easy Portages.—And all of these are so many channels through which not only the produce of the New States, contemplated by Congress,[108] but the trade of *all* the lakes, quite to that of the Wood, may be conducted according to my information, and judgement—at least by one of the Routs—thro' a shorter, easier, and less expensive communication than either of those which are now, or have been used with Canada, New Y^k^ or New Orleans.—

That this may not appear an assertion, or even an opinion unsupported, I will examine matters impartially, and endeavour to state facts.—

Detroit is a point, thro' which the Trade of the Lakes Huron, & all those above it, must pass, if it centres in any State of the Union;[109] or goes to Canada; unless it should pass by the River Outawais [Ottawa], which disgorges itself into the St Lawrence at Montreal and which necessity only can compel; as it is from all acc^ts^ longer and of more difficult navigation than the St Lawrence itself.—

To do this, the Waters which empty

 empty

into the Ohio on the East Side, & which communicate nearest and best with those which run into the Atlantic, must also be delineated—

These are, Monongahela and its branches, viz, Yohiogany & Cheat.—and the little and great Kanhawas; and Greenbrier which emptys into the latter.—

The first (unfortunately for us) is within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania from its Mouth to the fork of the Cheat, indeed 2 Miles higher—as (which is more to be regretted) the Yohiogany also is, till it crosses the line of Maryland; these Rivers I am persuaded, afford *much* the shortest Routs from the Lakes to the tide water of the Atlantic, but one not under our controul; being subject to a power whose interest is opposed to the extension of their navigation, as it would be the inevitable means of withdrawing from Philadelphia all the trade of that part of its western territory, which, lyes beyond the Laurel hill.—Though any attempt of that Government to restrain it I am equally well persuaded w^{d} cause a separation of their territory; there being sensible men among them who have it in contemplation at this moment.

—but this by the by.— the little Kanhawa, which stands next in order, & by Hutchins's table[109¾] of distances (between Fort Pitt and the Mouth of the River Ohio) is 184½ Miles below the Monongahela, is navigable between 40 and 50 Miles up to a place called Bullstown. —Thence there is a Portage of 9½ Miles to the West fork of Monongahela—Thence along the same to the Mouth of Cheat River, and it to the Dunker bottom; from whence a portage may be had to the N° branch of Potomack.

Next to the little, is the great Kanhawa; which by the above Table is 98½ miles still lower down the Ohio.— This is a fine Navigable river to the Falls; the practicability of opening which, seems to be little understood; but most assuredly ought to be investigated.

These then are the ways by which the Produce of that Country; & the peltry and fur trade of the Lakes may be introduced into this State; & into Maryl[d]; which stands upon similar ground.—There are ways, more difficult & expensive indeed by which they can also be carried to Philadelphia—all of which, with the Rout to Albany, & Montreal,—and the

 the

distances by Land, and Water, from place to place, as far as can be ascertained by the best Maps now extant—by actual Surveys made since the publication of them—and the information of intelligent persons—will appear as follow—from Detroit—which is a point, as has been observed, as unfavorable for us to compute from (being upon the North Western extremity of the United territory) as any beyond Lake Erie can be.—

viz —

From Detroit to Alexandria
is

To Cuyahoga River - - - -	125	Miles	
Up the same to the Portage	60		
Portage to Bever C^{k} - - -	8		
Down Bever C^{k} to the Ohio	85		
Up the Ohio to Fort Pitt -	25		303
The Mouth of Yohiogany -	15		
Falls to Ditto - - - - -	50		
Portage - - - - -	1		
Three forks or Turkey foot	8		

Fort Cumberl[d] or Wills Creek	30	
Alexandria - - - - - -	200	304
Total - - - - - -		607[110]
To Fort Pitt—as above - - -		303
The Mouth of Cheat River	75	
Up it, to the Dunker bottom	25	
North Branch of Potomack	20	
Fort Cumberland - - -	40	
Alexandria - - - - - -	200	360
To Alexand[a] by this Rout - -		663

*From Detroit to Alexandria avoiding Pensylvania**

To the M[o] of Cuyahoga - -	125	Miles
The carrying place with Muskingham River -	54	
Portage - - - - - -	1	
The M[o] of Muskingham -	192	
The little Kanhawa - -	12	384
Up the same - - - - -	40	
Portage to the West Bra	10	

*The Mouth of Cheat River & 2 Miles up it is in Pensyl[a]

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Down Monongahela to Cheat	80	
Up Cheat to the Dunker bot^{m}	25	
Portage to the N^{o} bra. Potom^{k} - - - - - -	20	
Fort Cumberland - - -	40	
Alexandria - - - - - -	200	415
Total by this Rout -		799

From Detroit to Richmond

To the Mouth of the little Kanhawa as above - - - - -		384
The Great Kanhawa by Hutchin's Table of Distances -	98½	
The Falls of the Kanhawa from information - - - -	90	
A Portage (supp^{e}) - -	10	
The Mouth of Green brier & up it to the Portage - - -	50	
Portage to James R^{r} -	33	281
Richmond - - - - - -		175
Total - - - - - - -		840

¶ Note—This Rout *may be* more incorrect than either of the foregoing, as I had only the Maps, and

and

vague information for the Portages—and for the distances from the Mouth of the Kanhawa to the Carrying place with Jacksons (that is James) River and the length of that River from the Carrying place to Richmond—the length of the carrying place above is also taken from the Map tho' from Information one would have called it not more than 20 Miles.

From Detroit to Philadelphia is

		Miles
To Presque Isle - - - - - -		245
Portage to Lebeauf - - -	15	
Down french Creek to Venango	75	
Along the Ohio to Toby's Creek	25	115
To the head spring of D° - -	45	
By a strait line to the nearest Water of Susque[a] - - - -	15	
Down the same to the West branch	50	
Fort Augusta at the Fork - -	125	
Mackees (or Mackoneys) C[k] - -	12	
Up this - - - - - - - - - -	25	
By a strait line to Schuylk[l] - -	15	
Reading - - - - - - - - -	32	
Philadelphia - - - - - - -	62	381
Total - - - - - -		741

By another Rout

To Fort Pitt as before - - -	303
Up the Ohio to Tobys C[k] -	95
Thence to Phil[a] as above -	381
Total - - - - - - -	779

¶ Note—The distances of places from the Mouth of Tobys Creek to Philad[a] are taken wholly from a comparative view of Evan's and Sculls Maps—The number, and length of the Portages, are not attempted to be given with greater exactness than these—and for want of more competent Knowledge, they are taken by a strait line between the sources of the different Waters which by the Maps have the nearest communication with each other—consequently, these Routs, if there is any truth in the Maps, must be longer than the given distances—particularly in the Portages, or Land part of the Transportation, because no Road among Mount[ns] can be strait—or waters navigable to their fountain heads.

From Detroit to Albany
is

To Fort Erie, at the N end of Lake Erie - - - - - -	350

Fort Niagara — 18 Miles of		
wch is Land transp^n - -	30	380
Oswego - - - - - - -		175
Fall of Onondaga River -	12	
Portage - - - - -	1	
Oneida Lake by Water - -	40	
Length of D° to Wood C^k -	18	
Wood C^k very small and		
Crooked - - - -	25	
Portage to Mohawk -	1	97
Down it to the Portage - -	60	
Portage - - - -	1	
Schenectady - - - - -	55	
Portage to Albany - -	15	131
In all - - - - - -		783[110]
To the City of New York - -		160
Total - - - - - -		943

From Detroit to Montreal
is

To Fort Niagara as above - -		380
North end of Lake Ontario	225	

Oswegatche - - - - - -	60	
Montreal—very rapid - -	110	395
In all - - - - - -		775[110]
To Quebec - - - - - - -		180
Total - - - - -		955

Admitting the preceding Statement, which as has been observed is given from the best and most authentic Maps and papers in my possession—from information—and partly from observation, to be tolerably just, it would be nugatory to go about to prove that the Country within, and bordering upon the Lakes Erie, Huron, & Michigan would be more convenient when they came to be settled—or that they would embrace with avidity our Markets, if we should remove the obstructions which are at present in the way to them.—

It may be said, because it has been said, & because there are some examples of it in proof, that the Country of Kentucke, about the Falls, and even much higher up the Ohio, have carried flour and other articles to New Orleans —but from whence has it proceeded?—Will

any one who has ever calculated the difference between Water & Land transportation wonder at this?—especially in an infant settlement where the people are poor and weak handed —and pay more regard to their ease than to loss of time, or any other circumstance?

Hitherto, the people of the Western Country having had no excitements to Industry, labour very little;—the luxuriancy of the Soil, with very little culture, produces provisions in abundance—these supplies the wants of the encreasing population—and the Spaniards when pressed by want have given high prices for flour —other articles they reject; & at times, (contrary I think to sound policy) shut their ports against them altogether—but let us open a good communication with the Settlements west of us—extend the inland Navigation as far as it can be done with convenience—and Shew them by this means, how easy it is to bring the produce of their Lands to our Markets, and see how astonishingly our exports will be increased; and these States benefitted in a commercial point of view—wch alone is an object of such Magnitude as to claim our closest attention—

 attention—

but when the subject is considered in a political point of view, it appears of much greater importance.

No well informed Mind need be told, that the flanks and rear of the United territory are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too—nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of it together, by one indissoluble band—particularly the middle States with the Country immediately back of them—for what ties let me ask, should we have upon those people; and how entirely unconnected sho[d] we be with them if the Spaniards on their right or great Britain on their left, instead of throwing stumbling blocks in their way as they now do, should envite their trade and seek alliances with them? —What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than is generally imagined (from the emigration of Foreigners who can have no predeliction for us, as well as from the removal of our own Citizens) may be the consequence of their having formed such connections and alliances, requires no uncommon foresight to predict.—

The Western Settlers—from my own observation—stand as it were on a pivet—the touch of a feather would almost incline them any way—they looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards (very impolitically I think for themselves) threw difficulties in the way, and for no other reason that I can conceive than because they glided gently down the stream, without considering perhaps the tedeousness of the voyage back, & the time necessary to perform it in;—and because they have no other means of coming to us but by a long land transportation & unimproved Roads.

A combination of circumstances make the present conjuncture more favorable than any other to fix the trade of the Western Country to our Markets.—The jealous & untoward disposition of the Spaniards on one side, and the private views of some individuals coinciding with the policy of the Court of G. Britain on the other, to retain the Posts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit &c.ª (which tho' done under the letter of the treaty is certainly an infraction of the Spirit of it, & injurious to the Union) may be improved to the greatest advantage by this

 this

State if she would open her arms, & embrace the means which are necessary to establish it— The way is plain, & the expence, comparitively speaking deserves not a thought, so great would be the prize—The Western Inhabitants would do their part towards accomplishing it,—weak as they now are, they would, I am pursuaded meet us half way rather than be *driven* into the arms of, or be in any wise dependent upon, foreigners; the consequence of which would be, a seperation, or a War.—

The way to avoid both, happily for us, is easy, and dictated by our clearest interest.—It is to open a wide door, and make a smooth way for the Produce of that Country to pass to our Markets before the trade may get into another channel—this, in my judgment, would dry up the other Sources; or if any part should flow down the Mississippi, from the falls of the Ohio, in Vessels which may be built—fitted for Sea—& sold with their Cargoes, the proceeds I have no manner of doubt, will return this way; & that it is better to prevent an evil than to rectify a mistake none can deny—commercial connections of all others, are most diffi-

cult to dissolve—if we wanted proof of this, look to the avidity with which we are renewing, after a *total* suspension of Eight years, our corrispondence with Great Britain;—So, if we are supine, and suffer without a struggle the Settlers of the Western Country to form commercial connections with the Spaniards, Britons, or with any of the States in the Union we shall find it a difficult matter to dissolve them altho' a better communication should, thereafter, be presented to them—time only could affect it; such is the force of habit!—

Rumseys discovery of working Boats against stream, by mechanical powers principally, may not only be considered as a fortunate invention for these States in general but as one of those circumstances which have combined to render the present epoche favorable above all others for securing (if we are disposed to avail ourselves of them) a large portion of the produce of the Western Settlements, and of the Fur and Peltry of the Lakes, also.—the importation of which alone, if there were no political considerations in the way, is immense.—

It may be said perhaps, that as the most

direct Routs from the Lakes to the Navigation of Potomack are through the State of Pensylvania—and the interr of that State opposed to the extension of the Waters of Monongahela, that a communication cannot be had either by the Yohiogany or Cheat River;—but herein I differ.—an application to this purpose would, in my opinion, place the Legislature of that Commonwealth in a very delicate situation.—That it would not be pleasing I can readily conceive, but that they would refuse their assent, I am by no means clear in.—There is, in that State, at least 100,000 Souls West of the Laurel hill, who are groaning under the inconveniences of a long land transportation.—They are wishing, indeed looking, for the extension of inland Navigation; and if this can not be made easy for them to Philadelphia—at any rate it must be lengthy—they will seek a Mart elsewhere; and none is so convenient as that which offers itself through Yohiogany or Cheat River.—the certain consequence therefore of an attempt to restrain the extension of the Navigation of these Rivers, (so consonant with the interest of these people) or to impose

any extra: duties upon the exports, or imports, to, or from another State, would be a seperation of the Western Settlers from the old & more interior government; towards which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in the former.

Washington and the Awakening of the West

THE Revolutionary War was over. The "Triumph," a French man-of-war, arrived at Philadelphia March 23, 1783, and brought the news of the signing of the preliminary treaty at Paris; then peace was assured, bringing with it independence. General Washington resigned his command before Congress at Annapolis in the following December, and on the day before Christmas he arrived at Mount Vernon.[1]

It was a memorable home-coming; and if the maidens did not cast flowers before him on his journey thither it was because the season forbade, and not because the hearts of his countrymen were less warm than when, eight years before, he had ridden forth to take command under the Cambridge Elm. Few men ever retained under similar circumstances — through delays and retreats and defeats — the unwavering faith of so many people through so many dark years.

But there was great need of his return home; as is well known, Washington received for his services throughout the war nothing save only his

necessary expenses; financially the war had cost him very dear; he owned a large and scattered estate, distributed over Virginia, Florida, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. In the management of this property nothing could take the place of his own personal attention and shrewd executive ability. It is a legend about Mount Vernon that Washington was extremely close-fisted; most men are — who have anything in their fists. At any rate, penurious or no, Washington had ever paid strictest attention to his affairs, and when everything fell to the care of overseers who could not be diligently overseen, mismanagement and considerable loss followed. He put it very mildly when he wrote General Schuyler: "I have been too long absent for my own convenience." A man penurious at heart would have allowed his country to reimburse him of all losses; this Washington could not do if he would.

For the following reason: while the Mount Vernon farms had perhaps made poorer returns during this period of neglect, they were still in his possession; but not so with the immense acreage which belonged to him west of the Alleghanies,[2] where no man's farm was safe unless diligently protected by its owner from occupation by the army of immigrants that was pouring into the West. Indeed, upon a careful examination of his affairs, Washington now found that squatters had

settled upon some of his richest lands, and, what was more exasperating, that certain parts of his land were being offered for sale in Philadelphia and in Europe by thieving land agents.* Little wonder that he now wrote Chevalier de la Luzurene, in reply to an invitation to visit France, that, so far from being able to make a trip abroad, he was too old a man to hope even to bring his private affairs to a state of order during the remainder of his life! †

Therefore it now seemed to Washington necessary to make a westward journey immediately. A very valuable tract of land owned by him in Pennsylvania had been appropriated by about a dozen families upon whom the threats of his agent, Gilbert Simpson,[3] had had no effect. Simpson, who lived on the Youghiogheny River at the present Perryopolis, Pennsylvania, on a tract of Washington's land, had been in his service since the outbreak of the Revolution. ‡ Since that time Washington had probably never had an opportunity to settle affairs with him. It is clear that Washington desired to hold on to his lands on the Ohio River, and make arrangements to sell that which lay further away, on the Great Kanawha. "My property in that country," he wrote one of

* See *ante*, p. 101.

† Jared Sparks, *Writings of Washington* (New York, 1874), IX, 57.

‡ C. W. Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, 60 *seq.*

his correspondents after his return from the journey, "having previously undergone every kind of diminution, which the nature of it will admit, to see the condition of my lands, which were nearest and settled, and to dispose of those, which were more remote and unsettled, was all I had in view."* He accordingly made an appointment to be at Simpson's house on the fifteenth of the following September, when a public sale of his co-partner interest with Simpson should be held. Simpson had built Washington's mill here and managed the twelve hundred-acre estate.

He chose as his companions his nephew Bushrod Washington and his old family physician, Dr. James Craik,[4] to whom he wrote on July 10th as follows: "I have come to a resolution, if not prevented by anything at present unforseen, to take a trip to the western country this fall, and for that purpose to leave home the first of September. . . . I mention all these matters, that you may be fully apprized of my plan, and the time it may probably take to accomplish it. If, under this information, it would suit you to go with me, I should be very glad of your company. No other person except my nephew, Bushrod Washington, and that is uncertain, will be of the party; because it can be no amusement for others to follow me in a tour of business, and from one of my tracts of land to

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 58, *note*.

another; for I am not going to explore the country, nor am I in search of fresh lands, but to secure what I have; . . . For this reason I shall continue to decline all overtures, which may be made to accompany me. . . . If you go, you will have occasion to take nothing from hence, but a servant to look after your horses, and such bedding as you may think proper to make use of. I will carry a marquee, some camp utensils, and a few stores. . . . A few medicines, and hooks and lines, you may probably want."* It appears later that Washington was likewise supplied with "hooks and lines," which the old friends had probably used on former jaunts like this one now planned. Lafayette landed in New York on the fourth of the following month, August; he came immediately to Mount Vernon to see Washington, arriving on the seventeenth and remaining until August 30th.

Promptly on the day appointed, September 1st, the little cavalcade rode down the shady lanes of Mount Vernon and headed up the Potomac. I fancy the General had looked forward, perhaps eagerly, to this day; somewhere between the formal lines of his letters and the commonplace sentences of the diary he now began, there is a hearty, joyous note, as though the man were honestly glad to throw his leg over a horse again for

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 52–53.

one more and his last ride into the Alleghanies. It had been fourteen years since Washington had visited the battlefields of his boyhood; twelve years previous to that (1758) he had marched with the "Head of Iron," as the Indians called Forbes, to the capture of Fort Duquesne; three years before (1775) he had gone over the same path he should now pursue, as aide to General Braddock; he had commanded in person the Fort Necessity campaign of 1754, and in 1753 had made his first Western trip as envoy extraordinary from the Governor of Virginia to the French forts on the upper Alleghany. If the man had a heart it surely warmed to the thought of another tour over this pathway with all the heritage of memories left by the thirty-one marvelous years since the first memorable journey over it had been made. Beyond the head of the Potomac lay the bright, sunshiny portals to the forest-bound Ohio Valley—Little Meadows and Great Meadows beyond "the Shades of Death"; there were the fading mounds of Fort Necessity, the pile of stones above Jumonville's grave under the lonely shadow of Laurel Hill Mountain, and the trampled resting-place of the brave, wilful Braddock, who knew not the word "retreat" until a French bullet drove it from his bleeding lungs. I doubt if, after his homestead acres, he loved any portion of his country as he loved those sighing forests

on the Ohio and its two great tributaries; if he was more the Father of one portion of his country than another, he was preëminently the Father of this West; here he had become known to two continents; here he had risked his life for his country as nowhere else; here he had proposed to make his last stand for independence if the Revolution in the seaboard States had failed; here lay his wealth; thither he turned eagerly, I would fain believe, when the Revolution was over.

The noon hour overtook the travelers — General Washington and Dr. Craik — near the present village of Falls Church near Arlington Cemetery, where they dined at the tavern kept by one Trammell,[5] doubtless a relative of John Trammell who gave the land in the village for the site of the Episcopal Church of which General Washington was vestryman. Following what is now the Georgetown-Leesburg pike, a tavern kept by one Shepherd, seventeen miles from Alexandria, near the present Difficult Run,[6] was reached by nightfall; Washington owned 300 acres of land here,* which was latterly purchased by some of the Shepherd[7] family, which was probably well-to-do. The baggage horses had suffered to-day, and on the morrow they were left to follow slowly to Leesburg,[8] where the party dined, and proceeded with the baggage to lay that night at the tavern

* See *ante*, p. 11.

of one Israel Thompson,[9] some thirty-six miles from Shepherd's.

Leaving Dr. Craik to come slowly with the baggage, Washington proceeded alone at sunrise to the home of his brother, Colonel Charles Washington,[10] probably by way of Snicker's Gap* through the Blue Ridge and the present Castleman's Ferry[11] over the Shenandoah River. Charles was six years younger than George; he lived at his homestead, "Happy Retreat," near the town laid out by him and named in his honor, Charlestown, now Jefferson County, West Virginia. Here the General also had property,† and, according to appointment previously made,‡ he met and transacted business with his tenants here.

A bevy of relatives and friends were on hand to welcome the distinguished traveler at "Happy Retreat." Washington was now at the height of his fame; artful cabals directed by shrewd, jealous rivals had failed either to sting the patient man into resignation or goad him to undignified behavior; he had won his war with England, sufficiently flattered the French, ignored the jealousy of rivals with a fine disdain, and had come out from all the toils, which at times threatened

* Washington's route in 1770. See "Journal of a Tour to the Ohio, 1770," entry of November 29, Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, II, 534.

† See *ante*, p. 11.

‡ Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 52.

his private and public undoing, wholly a conqueror. He had held his temper so under control through all the perplexing distresses of the eight years' war that it is an interesting problem much discussed whether or no he lost it at a certain critical moment in a strategic battle. One of the party to bid him welcome was his cousin Colonel (?) Warner Washington,[12] the agent of Lord Fairfax in the county and region in which he lived, seventeen years George's senior; another was the bold General Daniel Morgan[13] from his farm "Saratoga" near Winchester, leader of Revolutionary frontiersmen from the Alleghanies and beyond, now forty-eight years of age.

It may well be inferred that Morgan was one of those whom Washington had directed to meet him at "Happy Retreat"; the conversation between them suggests this. We now discover Washington's other mission[14] in his Western journey; it may have been at the outset only an incidental feature of his purpose in going West, but so far as his diary represents him it became his one chief object, namely, as he says, "to obtain information of the nearest and best communication [passageway] between the Eastern & Western Waters; & To facilitate . . . the Inland Navigation of the Potomack." The two main streams which form the Potomac are known as the "South Branch" and the "North Branch,"

which meet near Cumberland, Maryland. The North Branch closely interlocks in Garrett County, Maryland, with the heads of the two main tributaries of the Monongahela River, the Youghiogheny and Cheat rivers. So far as a communication between the Potomac and the Ohio River was concerned, the problem resolved itself into a study of the navigation of the North Branch to a point near Fort Pendleton, Hardy County, West Virginia and joining the Youghiogheny River near Oakland, Maryland, or the Cheat River near Kingwood, West Virginia, with the North Branch by a canal or a portage road. General Morgan, who had commanded that famous rifle-corps of men from the borderland, would be likely to know many facts concerning the navigation of the upper Potomac and the nature of the country between the North Branch and the Youghiogheny and Cheat rivers. Thus Washington doubtless argued, but he seems to have overestimated Morgan's knowledge; exceedingly little was known of the region drained by the North Branch.

Morgan did know that a road was being planned running from Winchester westward "to avoid if possible an interference with any other State." This remark[15] is very interesting, and brings out a matter of considerable moment in that day. The Potomac River, the joint property of Maryland and Virginia, stretched east and

west from the Alleghanies to the sea, across two whole longitudes. It interlocked closely in the mountains with the head waters of the Ohio; these head streams were the two Youghiogheny rivers (Big and Little) and the Cheat River. The heads of these streams and that of the North Branch were in Virginia. But before the waters of the Youghiogheny or Cheat reached the Ohio, at Pittsburgh, they entered the State of Pennsylvania, Mason and Dixon's Line having been completed this year—1784. Suppose now that Virginia should vote for the improvement of the navigation of the Potomac and of the Youghiogheny and the building of a highway or a canal between them; these improvements could extend only to Mason and Dixon's Line. Would Pennsylvania improve the remainder of the Youghiogheny and thus complete this line of communication from Pittsburgh and the Ohio River to Alexandria and Georgetown? Never. Pennsylvania legislators would not raise a finger to turn the commerce of the Ohio basin toward Virginia or Maryland ports. Indeed, the spirit of rivalry was so intense in this respect that it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that Pennsylvania would prefer seeing the trade beyond the mountains go on down the Ohio to the Spaniards at New Orleans than see it turned to Virginia. The rivalry of the States at this "criti-

cal period" along commercial lines was marvelously bitter; indeed, it was one of the chief obstacles met by the forefathers when attempting to frame a common platform or Constitution. The numerous references to this specific instance of interstate rivalry in the diary shows in an interesting way, because purely incidentally, the power that it exerted and the necessity of reckoning sternly with it. As late as 1835 we find a striking instance of this same thing in New England. Edward Everett, in an address at Faneuil Hall in behalf of the Western (Boston and Albany) Railroad, shows that western Massachusetts was linked commercially with New York rather than Boston. "Having occasion," said the orator, "last week to go to Deerfield, I took the north road from Worcester, through Templeton, Athol, and the country watered by Miller's River. . . . And what, Mr. President, do you think I saw? We had scarce drawn out of the [Athol] village, and were making our way along through South Orange and Erving's Grant, when I saw two wagons straining up a hill,—the horses' heads to the east,—the wagons laden with crates, casks and bales of foreign merchandise, which had come from Liverpool, by the way of Hartford, from New York! I hold that, sir, a little too much for a Massachusetts man to contemplate without pain."* It would be putting it very mildly to say

* *Orations and Speeches* (Boston, 1865), II, 146.

that Pennsylvania would be "pained" to see the trade of the "Pitt Country" passing up the Youghiogheny or Cheat rivers toward the Potomac. Another striking and contemporaneous instance of interstate jealousy is found in Pennsylvania's repeated generosity in granting the Baltimore and Ohio Railway a right of way in that State and her refusal to do this immediately upon the formation of the Pennsylvania Railway Company. Washington was a Virginian of Virginians, and he desired to establish a great water highway from tide-water to the Ohio and Great Lakes that should be wholly in Virginia. Knowing that both the Youghiogheny and Cheat led into Pennsylvania, he now became anxious to find another route; a substantial hint of this came from the landlord of the next inn at which he stopped on his way to Bath, Berkeley County.

Leaving his brother's at noon of September 4th, he reached the house of one Stroud,[16] between Opecken Creek and Martinsburg, by nightfall. Stroud was "not much" on the region between the Potomac and Youghiogheny or Cheat, but he had traversed the West * and knew some of its characteristics; for instance, he told Washington

* Mr. Stroud was, without doubt, closely connected with the family of that name which was murdered near the Great Kanawha in 1772. See Virgil A. Lewis, *History of West Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1889), 113–114; R. G. Thwaites, *Withers's Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 136–137.

of the glades[17] of the Alleghanies in Garrett County, Maryland, and Preston County, West Virginia; these glades were then, even more than they are in our day of summer resorts, the beautiful, sunny spots in those wide expanses of rugged heights. The largest glades are the Great Glades of the Youghiogheny, spreading out east and west from the "Yoh" River, as it is called locally. The Sandy Creek Glades lie to the westward of Briery Mountain, along the creek of that name. Here fire, storm, heat or cold had brushed away the forests and laurel thickets, and in their place waved long grasses and wild flowers on the highland mountain summits. For scores of miles not a tree was to be seen save where little rivulets traced a course toward the Ohio or Potomac. These smiling meadows on the roof of the Alleghanies are not more popular with summer tourists to-day than with the large game-animals, the deer, elk and buffalo of a century ago. When the pioneers came the glades were the great pasture-grounds for all who could reach them. Writes a traveler to what is now Oakland, Deer Park and Mountain Lake Park in 1796: "... there is not a tree to be found, but the ground is covered knee-deep with grass and herbs, where both the botanist and the cattle find delicious food. Many hundred cattle are driven yearly, from the South Branch and

other surrounding places, and intrusted to the care of the people who live there. What can be the cause of this strange phenomenon! One can only suppose that at one time these glades were covered with timber, which, overthrown by a mighty hurricane, gradually dried and fell into decay. But it would take too long," the writer cautiously adds, " to give the many reasons and arguments both for and against this supposition." * The "Barrens" of Kentucky and the prairies of Indiana and Illinois were similarly denuded regions. "This destruction of the timber," writes Professor Shaler, " was brought about by the custom, common to the Western Indians, of burning the grass of open grounds and the undergrowth of the woods, in order to give a more vigorous pasturage to the buffalo and other large game." † " This [forest fire] would seem to have been the cause," writes R. T. Durrett, " from the fact that so soon as the Indians were driven from the country this region was covered with a new growth of young trees. . . . It is difficult to understand how the Indians could have set fire to an original forest; but if this original forest had been once destroyed by drought, insects, or any other agent, it is easy to conceive how they might have kept new trees from growing by the use of fire.

* Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, XII, 80.

† N. S. Shaler, *Kentucky* (Commonwealth Series), 28-29.

Whatever may have been the original cause of the Barrens, they were there contemporaneously with the Indians, and when the Indians were gone the trees began to grow." *

The "Great Glades of the Yoh" are as popular to-day, and more so than ever in their history, dotted with cottages, hotels, roomy farm-houses, tennis-courts and golf links running across them from east to west from Mountain Lake Park to Terra Alta.

Captain Stroud informed Washington that he had learned from "old Captn Thos Snearenger,"[18] probably one of the hardy, pioneer Swearengin family of the upper Ohio, that the navigable waters of the Little Kanawha River, which empties into the Ohio River at what is now Parkersburg, West Virginia, were not far distant from the navigable waters of the Monongahela; therefore if a connection could be made between the Potomac and Cheat, that river could be descended to the Monongahela; in turn, that river could be ascended to a point nearest the Little Kanawha; when this portage could be completed the cargo could be sent down to the Ohio—never having gone out of the State of Virginia. This was the only all-Virginia river route from the Potomac, if, indeed, this proved practicable; the only

* *The Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club Pub. No. 8), 12, *note.*

other route was from the head of the James River to the New River, a tributary of the Great Kanawha, which emptied into the Ohio River at Point Pleasant, West Virginia. A stranger stopping at Stroud's had just come from Colonel David Shepperd's,[18½] the old Wheeling pioneer, and gave Washington a description of the ancient Catfish Path (later Cumberland National Road) route from Wheeling to Brownsville, Pennsylvania. Captain Stroud had gone[19] west in part by the route through Staunton and Warm Springs (Bath County, Virginia), and Boone's road through "the Wilderness" of Kentucky (Bell, Knox, Clay, etc., counties), leading to Boonesborough and Lexington in the Blue Grass Region.* The main impediment in this route were the falls or rapids in both the New and Great Kanawha rivers, below Chisel's Mine. When Washington sought to introduce the bill permitting the forma-

* This route from Virginia to Kentucky is thus given in an itinerary by John Filson in this year (1784): "To Winchester 13 (Miles), To New Town 8, To Stoverstown 10, To Woodstock 12, To Shenandoah River 15, To North Branch Shenandoah 29, To Staunton 15, To North Fork James River 37, To Botetourt C. H. 12, To Woods on Catawba River 21, To Pattersons on Roanoke 9, To Alleghany Mountain 8, To New River 12, To Forks of Road 16, To Fort Chisel 12, To Stone Mill 11, To Boyds 8, To Head of Holstein 5." By this measurement it was 99 miles from Staunton to New River. The two forks of the James, Carpenter's and Jackson's rivers, interlocked with the two forks of the Great Kanawha, the Greenbrier and New rivers. The Upper Roanoke also interlocked with New River. See Evans's Map.

tion of private companies for the improvement of the Potomac, in 1774, he found strong champions in the Virginia House of Burgesses for the James River; and his bill was amended to favor that river equally with the Potomac.

From this on Washington pursues steadily the idea of joining the Potomac with the Ohio by way of the Cheat and West Fork of the Monongahela and Little Kanawha; thus the traveler would pursue the following remarkable route in passing from, say, Alexandria, Virginia, to Cleveland, Ohio: (1) Ascend the Potomac; (2) ascend the South Branch; (3) cross a portage road to Dunkards Bottom on Cheat River; (4) descend Cheat River to junction with Monongahela; (5) ascend Monongahela; (6) ascend West Fork of Monongahela; (7) cross portage to Bullstown on Little Kanawha; (8) descend Little Kanawha to Ohio; (9) ascend Ohio to Marietta at mouth of Muskingum; (10) ascend Muskingum to portage near Akron, Ohio; (11) cross portage to Cuyahoga; (12) descend Cuyahoga to (future site of) Cleveland on Lake Erie. Nothing more desperate than this trip could have been proposed; even the black troughs of Braddock's Road seem more propitious after a review of this endless river voyage, involving so many weeks of labor against river currents. The serious proposal and consideration of it by so sane a man as Washing-

ton is a graphic commentary on the pioneer American commercial problem.*

On September 5 Washington pushed on to Bath, the present Berkeley Springs, dining on the way at a pioneer tavern on Back Creek,[20] a Potomac tributary. By his will we find that Washington owned 2336 acres here in Berkeley County,[21] including two lots at Bath. These, it seems, cost him about £50, together with two "well-situated and handsome buildings" costing about £150; this whole property he valued at £800, showing a good investment. But the chief interest attaching to his visit here centers in his meeting with "the ingenius Mr Rumsey."[22] It was fortunate and undoubtedly prearranged;† at least Rumsey was in full readiness to make the most of it. A pessimist would have called both men visionary, the one picturing the expanse of a nation beyond a grisly mass of mountains where hunters could hardly live and find their way about; the other struggling with an invention that should make every waterway such a bond by the application of a mechanical device to operate boats. The plans of "Crazy Rumsey," as he was known locally, were of vast importance in Washington's scheme; the man was born at "Bohemia Manor" in Cecil County, Maryland, about 1743,

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, I, 582, 585.
† Id., IX, 105.

being, therefore, eleven years younger than his illustrious patron. For some time he had been studying the mechanical propulsion of boats on the inland waters of the United States; the common means then known of making craft ascend rivers was the method of "poling" them; the keel-boats were thus propelled; the crew walked along the "running board" as it was called, pushing with their shoulders on poles "set" in the bottom of the stream. Following out this idea, Rumsey had conceived one machine on the order of these "setting poles," a model of which he now exhibited in private to Washington. The machinery of the boat was made at the old Cotoctin Furnace of the Johnson Brothers, near Frederick; two cylinders, the boiler, pumps and pipes came from Baltimore. It was eighty feet long over all; the machinery weighed 665 pounds and the vessel three tons; the machinery took up only about four feet square of space. The exhibition occurred, it is said, in Sir John's Run, a Potomac tributary, at night. The General approved of it and candidly states that what he had formerly believed impossible was seemingly in the way of realization by Mr. Rumsey. True, Washington's desire to see the project a success undoubtedly influenced his judgment, since it is easier to believe that which one wishes to believe; Rumsey's invention would mean much to the whole ship-

ping world in general, but in particular it would revolutionize the trade on inland waters. It was unfitted for deep waters where sailing craft would still hold their own, but on such streams as the Potomac and Ohio the boat would prove of inestimable value, and the simplicity of its construction, Washington states, put it within reach of any mechanic either to make or repair in case of accident. The expense of carrying freight at that day on inland waters was tremendous, especially upstream; it took a crew of anywhere from four to ten men to handle a heavy keel-boat or "Durham" boat; the wages and living expenses of this crew, the slow rate of speed attained and the comparatively small amount of cargo that could be handled, sent the freight rates up to a prohibitive figure. With boats of Rumsey's pattern the crew could be limited to two or three men, which meant a great saving.

We can well believe that Washington felt that if the present method did not prove successful, Rumsey was at any rate on the right track; at least he seems to have offered him every encouragement and assistance in his power. For instance, he gave him work in Bath on houses to be built,[23] as described. And, later, it will be seen, he called him to high position in connection with the improvement of the Potomac River. Washington's attitude to this struggling inventor is most

interesting and, while comparisons may be odious, it is a satisfaction to note that no biographer of Washington can ever write, as James Parton did of Benjamin Franklin, "One glory in his old age Franklin missed . . . that of giving effectual aid to this forlorn, uncouth man of genius [Fitch] in his costly experiments."* Fitch and Rumsey were rivals in their field of invention, even to "a war of pamphlets"; both seemed on the point of successfully applying the power of steam to boats, but "it is probable enough," writes at least one biographer of Fitch, "that Rumsey had entertained the idea of propelling a boat by steam before it occurred to Fitch."† It is impossible to make a categorical statement, but a query, at least, is not out of place: What if Fitch, who was to live, had met the sympathetic, influential Washington now in 1784, and Rumsey, whose life was soon over, had been the one Franklin turned away empty-handed and empty-hearted? It is difficult to tell just how much of Rumsey's short-lived success was due to Washington; in March, 1786, he successfully propelled a boat by steam on the Potomac River, on which stream Virginia had, in 1784, given him the exclusive rights of navigation for ten years, acting on Washington's

* *Life of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1864), II, 548–549.
† *New American Cyclopedia* (New York, 1859), VII, 539.

advice;* in 1788 a Rumsey Society was formed in Philadelphia (of which Franklin was a member), as that commonwealth had given the inventor exclusive rights on its waters the year previous; in 1792 Rumsey went to England to interest capitalists in his invention. In December of that year he successfully operated a steamboat on the Thames, but before the end of the month he was taken sick and died. In 1839 by joint act of Congress a medal was awarded to James Rumsey, Jr., "commemorative of his father's services and high agency in giving to the world the benefit of the steamboat." As, during the Revolution, Washington so greatly helped the inventor Bushnell, who was struggling with a model of a submarine boat,† so now he introduced Rumsey's invention to the world. Writing soon to Hugh Williamson, a member of Congress, he said: " . . . if a model, or thing in miniature is a just representation of a greater object in practice, there is no doubt of the utility of the invention. A view of his model with the explanation removed the principal doubt I ever had of the practicability of propelling against a stream by the aid of mechanical power; but as he [Rumsey] wanted to avail himself of my introduction of it to the public attention, I chose pre-

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, XII, 279. † Id., IX, 134–135.

viously to see the actual performance of the model in a descending [flowing] stream before I passed my certificate; and having done so, all my doubts were satisfied." * Alive to the great future he had made possible, Washington was intensely interested in all the factors which he believed would hasten that day of real union and prosperity. Rumsey was a factor in the Awakening of America—through the patronage of Washington.

Undoubtedly Rumsey's experiments gave Washington renewed courage in his plan of a great waterway which should bind the West to the East; from one Colonel Bruce[24] here at Bath he learned that it was only six miles across from the Potomac "where McCullough's path crosses it" to the Youghiogheny River; this path, as will be seen,† crossed the Potomac at Fort Pendleton, West Virginia,[25] and was originally only a buffalo trace to the feeding-grounds in the "Great Glades of the Yoh." Bruce suggested an impossible route to the Little Kanawha, by way of the Youghiogheny, Sandy Creek (a tributary of the Cheat), Cheat, Monongahela rivers and Ten Mile Creek, a tributary of the "West Fork" of the latter.‡ Washington urged Bruce to undertake a survey of the country between the Potomac and

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 105. † See Note 85.

‡ As our map shows, there was no connection whatever with Ten Miles Creek and the Little Kanawha. See map of Washington's route.

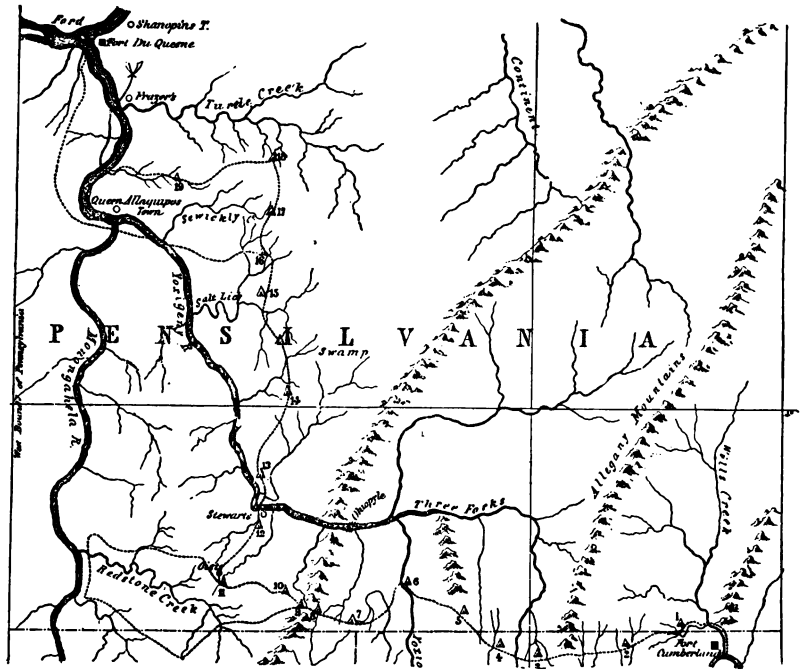
Cheat rivers, while he engaged to do the same of the country between the Little Kanawha and Ten Mile Creek.

On September 8 the party, increased now by the addition of Dr. Craik's son William[26] and Bushrod Washington,[27] the twenty-five-year-old son of Washington's favorite brother John, departed westward by way of Old Town and Cumberland, Maryland. Washington left the others twelve miles from Bath, near the present village of Little Orchard, Maryland, opposite the mouth of Fifteen Mile Creek,[28] for a tract of two hundred and forty acres of land he owned here in Virginia; "the lower end of the land," he writes, "is rich white oak in places"; Washington was an experienced woodsman[29] and knew well the lost art of judging land by the size and character of the timber it produced. It was more than common to say of land that it was "rich white oak" or "chestnut oak"; one of Washington's land agents once wrote him of a certain tract, "The hills are of the poorest sort, all piney. . . ."* To-day we go by soils, whereas when the wilderness was king men went by trees. The size of the tree was also a factor, together with its species, and it is difficult to believe the stories that have come down to us as to the size of trees in the primeval forests of the Middle West; Washington

* Cf *ante*, pp. 26, 29.

himself found a sycamore on the Ohio River in 1770 that measured forty-four feet and ten inches in circumference,—and if it be admitted that he formerly told the truth about a cherry tree it must follow as the day the night that he could not speak falsely of any sycamore.

Old Town,[30] where the travelers lodged and where Washington overtook them, was the present Old Town, Maryland, opposite Green Spring Station on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway; this is one of the few towns that has retained that commonest of Indian village names; whenever a tribe of Indians resettled a spot previously occupied by their Indian or Mound-building ancestors this name was frequently employed. Here lived Colonel Thomas Cresap,[31] now about as old as his century, far-famed throughout borderland history as Indian fighter and trader and one of the proprietors of the Ohio Company of 1748; after many financial vicissitudes Colonel Cresap had acquired a fine property here, at what he called "Skipton," opposite the mouth of the South Branch (of the Potomac). But even Cresap's renown could not establish the name of "Skipton" over the old Shawanese "Old Town." Here Washington found a man who gave a discouraging account of Ten Mile Creek,[32] by which Bruce's all-Virginia waterway was to pass from the Monongahela to Little Kanawha. Little wonder



BRADDOCK'S ROAD

From "Fort Cumberland" to "Gist's" was Washington's route. The numbers represent Braddock's encampments in 1755; No. 7 was near Great Meadows, No. 11 near "Mount Braddock," and No. 9 at "Dunbar's Spring."

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this man was ignorant "of the Country" between Ten Mile and the Little Kanawha!*

On the 10th the travelers were off for "old Fort Cumberland," the present Cumberland, Maryland,[33] at which point Washington again left the party to follow with the baggage and proceeded in advance of them to the old Gwinn place[34] beyond the Alleghany Mountain (see Washington's map), where he dined; hastening onward, he lay that night at the Tomlinson[35] tavern at Little Meadows. Washington's misspelling of the name of this pioneer family, so well known between the Potomac and Ohio and in the Wheeling neighborhood, is typical of his spelling of proper names throughout his diary; it is to be explained on the ground of the indefiniteness of his information and the lack of anything approximating accuracy on the part of his informers. One would suppose that the name of Braddock, for instance, was well enough known in the Alleghanies to be written and spoken correctly; yet a resident on Braddock's Road, which Washington is now following, once described his home as on "broadaggs old road."† What Washington called "Tumbersons" another traveler, twelve years later, called "Tumblestone."‡

* Cf. *ante*, p. 124, *note*.
† Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, XII, 70.
‡ Id., XII, 67.

Leaving Tomlinson's at earliest dawn, Washington forded the Youghiogheny at the present Little Crossings,[36] and pushed on to breakfast at "one Mounts or Mountains,"[37] he did not know which,* passing through the dark tangle of laurel bushes known far and wide as "the Shades of Death."[38] Nine miles farther on he crossed the larger Youghiogheny at the present Smithfield, Pennsylvania,[39] and rested that night at the tavern kept by one Daugherty,[40] just to the south of the present Farmington, Pennsylvania. The ruins of this old "stand" on Braddock's Road are plainly visible to-day in the woods to the east of Great Meadows.

As I write, there falls from my note-book, kept while following Washington's route back and forth in the Alleghanies, a flood of scarlet leaves; and as we picture the lonely figure of this man plodding his slow way through the woods on Braddock's Road, the whole must be framed in a gorgeous red and yellow frame, the early autumnal heritage of the Alleghany forests. But whether he journeyed among sober or among flaming trees it is to be believed that the man's thoughts ran to many subjects not hinted in the diary; great as the mass of Washington's literary remains seems to be, consisting of so many letters,

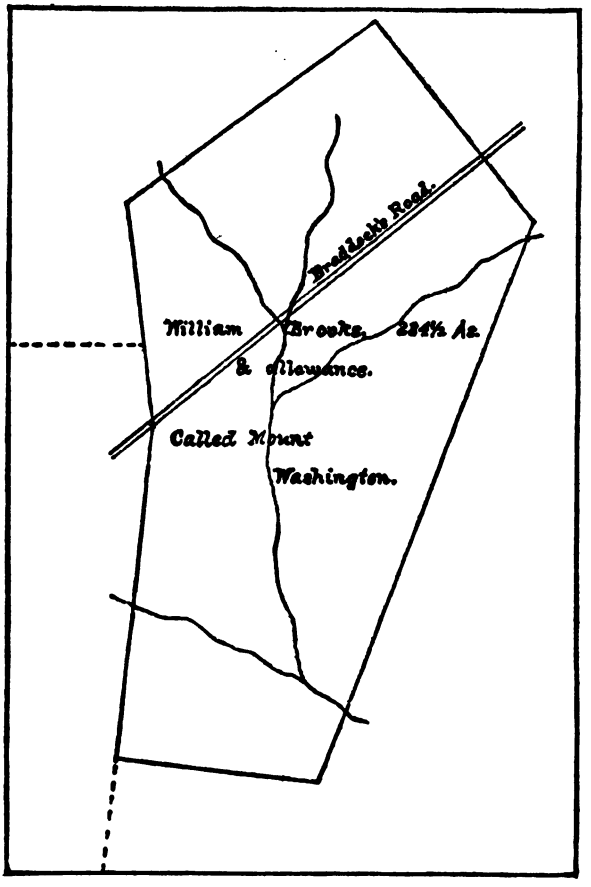
* This tavern is called "Mountain Tavern or White Oak Springs," by William Brown, six years later. Id., IV, 195.

journals, diaries and memoranda, it is rare that one can find a single instance where the man breaks through the crust of stolid indifference of everything that is suggested by the words sentiment and romance and speaks in a reminiscent strain. Several times in after days did this man visit the memorable scenes of his early life in which he became known to a continent and a world; and though he invariably kept a journal of these tours it is rare that one word can be found referring to other days. Nor is this diary of 1784 any exception to the rule. Since entering upon Braddock's Road at Cumberland, the historic track of so many hurrying pilgrims since the ill-fated Braddock passed over it to his grave, Washington was on familiar ground; counting all his comings and goings, he had passed over Braddock's Road eight times since 1753, when he first fared Westward with Christopher Gist as his "pilot." In those thirty-one years he had been a most interested spectator in the long struggle of the colonies in freeing themselves first from French absorption and then from British sovereignty. And now, hero of the two wars for freedom, the man comes again over this worn pathway, and early on the morning of September 12 he rides through the heavy fog into Great Meadows,[41] the one bright, sunny spot in a hundred miles of mountain. As was most proper,

Washington had purchased the two hundred and thirty-seven acres* here[42] on which he had fought his first battle from within his "fort"—a doggedly argued affair against hopeless odds, his poor handful of men crouching all day in dripping trenches, empty of food (because there was none) and full of liquor. It was in the eternal fitness of things that this man should own the spot of ground where he had had his first lesson in commanding half-clad, hungry men in the noblest cause in which a musket or hot, barking swivel ever spoke. But that was thirty years ago; then the tall young lad spoke of the Meadows exuberantly as a "charming field for an encounter"; at the same time, it will be remembered, he wrote that the flying bullets at the attack on Jumonville's "embassy" had a "charming sound"; when asked later in life if he had uttered the words he said that, if so, it was "when he was very young." So, in the present case, these thirty taxing years on top of the twenty youthful ones has brought a vast change and Great Meadows, from being a "charming field for an encounter," was merely "capable of being turned to great advantage . . . & the upland, East of the Meadow, is good for grain"! Indeed, in Washington's record of this his last tour over Braddock's Road

* Butterfield, *The Washington-Crawford Letters*, 16.

See *ante*, p. 10.



Plat of Washington's farm in Great Meadows, near Farmington, Pennsylvania

the reader will search in vain for one word that will hint that Washington had ever been over the Alleghanies before! Such was the man.

I care not how widely you may have traveled, you have missed a peculiar pleasure if you have not climbed Laurel Hill, the last range of the Alleghany ranges westward, and visited Dunbar's Camp, Braddock's Grave and Great Meadows. It is, physically, a tiresome trip, but a day in the Alleghanies is as a generation in the rushing world without; and on one of those glittering autumn days, the air like wine, you feel that the forests which flank Great Meadows to-day speak continuously of that somber past. The sounds of trampling feet, the crack of the rifles and the baying of the angry swivels, the groans and battle-cries seem to have died away only a moment or two ago. You look quickly now and then through the vista of flaming trees and feel that one of Washington's ragged, red Virginians has just passed over the brow of the knoll beyond; the leaves still stir in his wake. And then, as a climax to your day-dream, you fall upon the remains of Braddock's Road, that strange broad track that was the first artery between the East and the West. Remember it not as the route of an army of soldiers but rather as the path of that army of pioneers with axes on their shoulders — axes that should sing a truer tune than ever a musket crooned. None of all the millions who passed this

way to that West, of which Washington was the first prophet and first promoter, ever dreamed of leaving a monument here; but those very feet, tired and often bleeding, have left a memorial which storm nor frost are able to erase. A millennium of years will not obliterate this track of hunters, explorers, missionaries, armies and host of pioneers; and as the dreams and hopes and fears and visions of that phantom host were priceless to the cause of liberty in this land, so that track made by their hurrying feet will ever be dear to all who, like them, hold that liberty to be a precious thing. "There are no Alleghanies in my politics," said the great expounder of the Constitution;* this was the mission of Braddock's Road and the key-note of Washington's policy through forty years. All Europe trembled when the fourteenth Louis said to his grandson, whom he had made King of Spain, "There are no longer any Pyrenees"; this was the burden of the song sung by the axes that hewed Braddock's Road—"there are no longer any Alleghanies"; and the continent trembled, not for fear, truly, but under the feet of millions who made it possible for a company of united States to live. Washington now sought only to annihilate the Alleghanies more effectively than Braddock's Road had done, by a better means of communication.

The last years of the Revolution had been par-

* *The Works of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1858), IV, 250.

ticularly bloody years in the West, Crawford's defeat in Ohio and the Battle of Blue Licks in Kentucky quite reaching the high-water mark of savage gluttony. Now in 1784 the great immigration which should never be stopped had just begun; of this Washington saw signs as he pushed on by Great Meadows, Braddock's Grave, Jumonville's Grave and Dunbar's Spring to the old Gist homestead on the present Mount Braddock, Fayette County, Pennsylvania,[43] where the old pioneer Christopher Gist had settled more than thirty years back, and where the third son, Thomas, now lived at the old spring-site; twelve miles further on, on the present site of Perryopolis, was the home of Gilbert Simpson[44] on Washington's twelve-hundred-acre tract at this point on the Youghiogheny River.* Here Washington arrived at five in the evening of September 12. During the last day or two he met a large number of traders[45] on Braddock's Road and he missed no opportunity of asking them concerning the navigation problem. He learned again that Ten-Mile Creek was absolutely impassable and did not lead anywhere near the Little Kanawha,[46] and, what was far more discouraging, that the line (Mason and Dixon's) just now surveyed between Pennsylvania and Virginia crossed the Cheat

* This tract was sold before the making of Washington's will; therefore it is not mentioned in our summary, *ante*, pp. 11, 12.

River several miles above the junction of the Cheat and Monongahela at the present town of Point Marion in West Virginia[47]—which deprived Virginia of the control of that stream as she was deprived of the control of the Youghiogheny. It was clear, now, that the hope of an all-Virginian route from the Potomac to the Ohio was futile, so far as the plans heretofore proposed were concerned. The use of either of the rivers Youghiogheny or Cheat necessitated the coöperation of Pennsylvania with Virginia in order to achieve success, even if the canalization of them, which seemed doubtful from the traders' reports, was possible.

Two courses of action were now open; and while Washington was now engrossed for some days in private affairs he did not forget this greater project which he believed meant much good for his country. However, the prosecution of his journey to the Great Kanawha seemed impossible, for, from the traders' reports, the Indians were hostile, because of efforts at surveying northwest of the Ohio River, the treaty of Fort McIntosh[48] not being held until two years later.*

On the day after his arrival Washington visited his old mill on what is now Washington's

* A treaty between the United States, represented by Arthur Lee, Richard Butler and George Rogers Clark, and the Wyandots, Chippewas, Delawares and Ottawas. Thwaites, *Withers's Chronicles of Border Warfare*, 366.

Run, three fourths of a mile from the Youghiogheny River.[49] This was one of the first mills built west of the Alleghanies, the millstones being dug out of native quarries and the builders living in a blockhouse while at work upon it in 1774–75. Portions of the original structure remain in the present mill and it is known far and wide by the old name. The water-power, which is relied upon only in wet seasons, still follows the ancient race of Revolutionary days and the reconstructed dam stands on the site of the old one. It is all a monument to Washington and speaks to the visitor in a way that the Washington monument never can; it is a memorial of this unknown Washington who was dreaming of a new America. The improvements on Washington's plantation here, overseers' quarters (Simpson's where Washington lodged), slaves' quarters, etc., were situate near Plant No. 2 of the Washington Coal and Coke Company, which sends out calendars each year bearing a picture of Washington's Mill. While Washington examined with care the coal outcroppings near here in 1770,* it is sure the man never dreamed that the land he purchased, with some contiguous territory, would be valued in a century at above twenty million dollars. In

* On the Crawford place, twelve miles up the Youghiogheny from Perryopolis, at the present New Haven (Pa.). See Washington's *Tour of 1770*, entries of October 13–15.

view of its enormous value it is doubly interesting to know that Washington was its first owner and that he found coal hereabouts nearly a century and a half ago.

Washington's coming had no doubt been noised abroad in connection with the public sale, and visitors were soon on hand to welcome him; particularly Colonel William Butler,[50] from the old Butler homestead, a little above the present village of Glenwood on the Monongahela, and Captain Lucket,[51] commanding the Fort Pitt garrison. But there were more picturesque, important visitors than these — an odd delegation of the rough frontiersmen[52] who had squatted on the rich piece of land which Crawford had secured (he supposed) for Washington in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1767. They not only had heard of the sale but doubtless were informed that, when General Washington came, steps were to be taken to oust them from the homes they had built and in which they had lived, now, for eleven years.

It is one of the most entertaining features of this diary that it presents so clearly to our view this inside history of Washington's speculation in western Pennsylvania; he has been presented in many lights, but never perhaps as a plaintiff in a suit to dispossess a dozen or two people from their little farms and cabins; yet such he now becomes, and this delegation has come to Simpson's to in-

terview him and find out a good scheme of defense. A great deal has been written of the bitter contests waged in the West for titles to farms, squatter rights and tomahawk claims. Here we have a specific instance of one of these disputes, and, fortunately, the prominence of the plaintiff was such that all of the important facts of the case have been preserved, though never before given to the public.

As early as 1767 Washington wrote, as we have seen, to his old friend William Crawford, asking him to pick out some good tracts of land for Washington in the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. Washington, on his part, declared that he would find means to secure a clear title to any such lands. On September 27, 1767, Crawford wrote him that he had "pitched upon a fine piece of land on a stream called Chartiers Creek."* Here Crawford surveyed and marked by blazed trees as fine a piece of land as can be found in rich Washington County, about three thousand acres in all. He soon built a cabin and cleared a patch of ground. This was an "improvement." The only persons who could rightfully hold land in the West were the "old veterans" of the French and Indian War, who had been promised by the Virginian Governor (1754) and the King of England (1763) some two hundred thousand

* Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, 6.

acres of the land in the West for which they had fought and which they had conquered. As commander of the Fort Necessity campaign Washington had become possessed of a large tract of land which he expected to take *en bloc;* for such a tract as that secured by Crawford, Washington would find a soldier's claim which he could secure. This he soon obtained from one Captain John Posey, who had been a captain in the Second Virginia Regiment in the Fort Necessity campaign and who had a good claim to three thousand acres of the two hundred thousand. On the 14th of October, 1770, Posey gave George Washington what was called his "Bond" in the sum of £2000 conditioned for the conveyance to Washington of his right under said claim whenever the same should be demanded. This bond stated that "for a certain sum agreed upon . . . [Posey] hath bargained and sold the same [claim] to the said George Washington. . . ." The "Bond" was "Sealed & delivered In the presence of John Parke Custis Martha Parke Custis Amelia Posey." This probably occurred at Mount Vernon. In the year following Crawford was appointed deputy-surveyor of Augusta County, Virginia (which then was claimed to embrace the present Washington County, Pennsylvania), under Thomas Lewis, the surveyor of Augusta County, Virginia, who married Washington's

friend and schoolmate Jane Strother. He then resurveyed 2813 acres within the boundaries previously marked for Washington, and the "return" was forwarded by Lewis to Virginia; in 1774 Governor Dinwiddie granted Washington a patent for the land. This patent made Washington actual owner of the land so far as a Virginia title could make him so.

A year or so before the patent was issued, a number of squatters settled within these boundaries which had been marked, surveyed and resurveyed by Crawford. Six men comprised the party, and, before discovered, they had built a cabin, and cleared two or three acres of land. Crawford immediately ordered them off, and, on being paid £5, in lieu of the improvement they had made, they moved away. Land-seekers were now becoming so numerous that Crawford was compelled to place a man on Washington's land who built a cabin and eked out a living at his patron's expense. A circumstance which made it more difficult to keep the land from interlopers was what is known as Croghan's Deed, a deed given by the Six Nations to Colonel George Croghan, the noted Indian trader and deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson, and other traders (who had lost property by Indian depredations), to two hundred thousand acres of land on the upper Ohio. The Deed was never approved by

the King and was never legal, but Colonel Croghan "ran" his lines and sold many "locations" to immigrants. Crawford shrewdly found this piece of good land for Washington and outwitted and antagonized the Croghan speculators;* and so when, in 1773, a number of men of sturdy Scotch-Irish descent appeared upon the scene from Chester County, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, they were encouraged to settle on Washington's land by the Croghan element in Pittsburgh; perhaps they verily believed Croghan was a fraud who advertised the fact that he was securing land for Washington merely in order to attract attention; at any rate they came boldly and drove Washington's hired servant away by force, "encouraged by Major Ward," wrote Crawford to Washington, "brother to Colonel Croghan."† This was just before Christmas, 1773. Crawford went immediately to them with the same warning he had brought their predecessors; he found them determined to stay and he wrote that he had "built a house so close to his [the keeper's] that he cannot get in at the door." Dunmore's War now broke out and the Revolution followed. Throughout those trying years the doughty Scotch-Irish clung to their little cabins and few acres with all the tenacity of their race. The Indians could not drive them off; now

* Butterfield, *The Washington-Crawford Letters*, 19. † Id., 37.

the question was, Could Washington make good his title?

No doubt they discussed this question as they trudged over the hills to Simpson's, wondering if the great General whose fame had spread so wide could and really would dispossess them of the homes and land they had called theirs for almost half a generation. They were above the average of frontiersmen; writes Hon. Boyd Crumrine:* "There were some sturdy men among these settlers, men of positive mind, stubborn for their own rights as they understood them. They were not disposed easily to yield their hard-won homes even to the great General who had liberated America." There was, truly, something to be said on both sides, and the fact that the entire body of them were of one religious opinion and known as Seceders (the Associate Church of Scotland) had a moral influence in the matter not to be wholly disregarded. And then they had stood their ground through all the bitter, black

* Mr. Crumrine, a distinguished lawyer of Washington, Pennsylvania, and president of the Washington County Historical Society, has made a special study of Washington's land-suit and gathered copies of all the original documents in the case which he will edit and publish; the most interesting and important of these documents is the *Washington-Smith Correspondence,* to be referred to later. Mr. Crumrine has kindly allowed the present writer the complete run of his material.

days of Dunmore's War and the Revolution, and no doubt had contributed men and substance to the cause of preserving the West to the Union. They had seized, rather forcefully it must be admitted, upon the land they claimed, but were following what they understood was good advice. They looked upon Crawford as an impostor, and doubtless honestly believed that he was merely using Washington's name as a cloak to cover safely a private venture. The West was full of such land jobbers as that; Crawford had probably told them that Croghan's claim to land was as groundless as Croghan told them Crawford's was. Who knew the truth? Who was to be believed?

We do not know the exact conversation which now passed between the leaders of these Seceders and General Washington. It is clear from Washington's remark that the salient points of the question were touched—probably the important fact that they settled the land previous to the date[53] of the Governor's patent which made Washington the actual owner. He undoubtedly demanded that they leave the land or purchase it from him at a fair figure. All the Seceders not being present, a decision was necessarily postponed until Washington should see the land and estimate its value. As the men trudged off home-

ward that night they talked of the man they had seen, of his dress and manner, of all he had done, of his answers to their spokesman's questions, and of the probable price he would set on the land. It was sure they would either buy or fight the matter in the courts.

On the day following, September 15, the sale which had been advertised was held[54]; the mill could not find a renter and the plantation—now worth a score of millions—rented for 500 bushels of wheat per annum! Washington spent two days more at Crawford's, where Colonel Thomas Freeman[55] was engaged as Washington's land agent in the West for the future.*

On the eighteenth Washington set out with Dr. Craik for the homes of his obdurate Seceders on "Shurtees Creek," as he calls Chartiers Creek,[56] and crossed the Monongahela River at "Deboirs," more correctly Devore's[57] Ferry, now Monongahela City, Pennsylvania. Local tradition affirms that Devore was the name of a Hessian soldier who operated a ferry later known as Parkinson's Ferry. The travelers "bated" at David Hamilton's,[58] for many years justice of the peace in Washington County, at his home on "Ginger Hill" on the present National Road, and

*His full directions to Freeman were outlined in a letter written September 23, 1785. Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, XII, 275.

lodged that night at Colonel John Cannon's,[59] or of the justices of the Virginia courts, who laid ou the present Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, in April, 1788. Washington only mentions the home of Colonel Edward Cook,[60] one of the important men of western Pennsylvania of that date, who lived at the present site of Fayette City, Fayette County, previously known as Cookstown, and, before that, Freeport. Colonel Cook was a member of the famous "Carpenter's Hall," Provincial Congress, which promulgated the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776, and County Lieutenant for Westmoreland (which then included Fayette) County. Had his record as a staunch Pennsylvanian been shorter Washington's notice of him would have been longer!

From Colonel Cannon's it was but a short ride to the lands on Miller's Run, but the next day being Sunday, Washington postpones a visit because of the alleged religious scruples[61] of his tenants, at which he frankly sneers, with little credit to himself. He spends the day in a fruitless business journey to the home of one Dr. Ezekiel Johnson,[62] a few miles northeast of Washington, Pennsylvania, in search of records, which he does not find. Washington here shows little or no respect for the Sabbath day; it may be said that while traveling on the frontier the cir-

cumstances warranted one's moving on apace, bad weather rendering the roads so impassable that it was the better part of caution to travel in good weather irrespective of the day. The Scotch-Irish tenants would not have traveled today, nor did many a brave explorer like Dr. Thomas Walker, though none but the horses and dogs and wilderness knew of the act of reverence for the day.*

On Monday Washington proceeded to the lands in question and found that out of the 2813 acres patented by him, only 363 acres were arable and forty more were "meadow"; there were twelve houses and nine barns claimed by fourteen persons[63]: Samuel McBride, James McBride, Thomas Biggart (Bigar?), William Stewart, Matthew Hillast (Halet?), Brice McGeechen, Duncan McGeechen, David Reed, John Reed, William Hillas (Willis?), John Glen, James Scott, Matthew Johnson, and James Scott, Jr. The last mentioned,[64] who, with his father, was owner of the best of the farms, was the ringleader of the pioneers; with Reed he argued their side of the question at the Reed home, where Washington dined. "During his stay," writes an historian of Washington County, "the mother of James Reed

* "Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker," J. Stoddard Johnston, *First Explorations of Kentucky*, 35, note 4. Sparks has an interesting chapter on Washington's religious principles in *Writings of Washington*, XII, 399.

(silversmith, formerly of this place) cooked a dinner . . . for the General. . . ." * Here at Reed's Washington stated his terms, after hearing the Seceders' pitiful story, half of which, one may believe, was exaggeration. All the tenants refused the terms offered, and agreed severally to stand suit and abide the decision of law. Ordinarily such quarrels over "tomahawk claims" were settled "out of court," usually on the ground in question with the silence of the surrounding forest as the only witness. The strongest man won — or, perhaps, the craftiest. "As soon as a man's back is turned," Washington's own agent once wrote him, "another is on his land. The man that is strong and able to make others afraid of him seems to have the best chance as times go now."

But Washington could not employ arbitrary force in the present instance, and he would not if he could. His dignity demanded that the pious interlopers receive the benefit of the bench and bar. In all his Western speculations Washington had been particular to insist that his agents avoid even the possibility of conflict with others. For instance, when Captain Bullitt and party were making the early surveys at Louisville and on the Kentucky River in 1775, Washington desired

* Alfred Creigh, LL.D., *History of Washington County* (Harrisburgh, 1871), 101. The place referred to is Washington, the county-seat.

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"to get in on the ground floor"; and, while no one in America, save only the veterans of the campaign of 1754, had any semblance of legal right to Western land, yet Washington wrote his agent to avoid any possible conflict *even with those who had no right to lands;*" . . . but even of these [illegal] claims," he wrote, "if I could get lands equally as good . . . elsewhere, I should choose to steer clear." * In his treatment of his large tenantry Washington was also most considerate; writing to his new agent, Freeman, a few months later, he said: "Where acts of Providence interfere to disable a tenant, I would be lenient in the exaction of rent; but, where the cases are otherwise, I will not be put off; because it is on these my own expenditures depend, and because an accumulation of undischarged rents is a real injury to the tenant." †

In the present instance Washington's agent had chosen the Miller's Run lands before the Seceders ever saw it, and the steps to be taken to secure properly the land were in a forward way when they arrived on the scene and drove off the man stationed as guard. The question was, Must Washington lose his land because of the arrival of the squatters before enough time had elapsed for him to secure a patent to the land? This he could not believe; if these men

* Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, 31. † Id., 31.

succeeded in wheedling him in this instance, there was little chance of his holding securely a single one of his forty thousand acres in the West; to be "lenient" here, as he was, no doubt, implored to be, would certainly result in the establishment of a precedent that would be ruinous to him; and if Washington could not keep his land how would the less influential and less powerful fare? The precedent would ruin thousands.

Such, no doubt, was the trend of the conversation of the members of Washington's party while returning to Colonel Cannon's; in it was Colonel John Neville[65] of the Virginia Line, Captain Van Swearinger,[66] "Indian Van" as he was known, commander of one of the companies in Morgan's famous rifle-corps from the backwoods, and now first sheriff of Washington County, and either Captain Craig Richie or Captain Matthew Richie,[67] both of them being prominent residents of this county. These friends probably agreed that indeed "squatter" rights did take precedence over Governor's patents if Washington must be compelled to submit to the interlopers, or if they could make good their claim in court. All agreed to assist the General in the prosecution of the ejectment suit. At Beason Town,[68] the present Uniontown, Pennsylvania, whither Washington went on September 22, he engaged Mr. Thomas

Smith[69] of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to prosecute his suit.

Here at Uniontown Captain Benjamin Hardin[70] gave the General a hopeful account of the passage-way from the West Fork of the Monongahela * to the Little Kanawha; he also affirmed that the Cheat was navigable to Dunkards Bottom and that a road was already marked out from that point across the mountains to the Potomac. The information came in time to make Washington change his decision to return the way he had come; here and now he determined to send his baggage and friends homeward by the common route, and he himself strike straight into the wilderness of the upper Monongahela, of which all men seemed so ignorant. He accordingly sent Dr. Craik and son homeward with the baggage by the Turkey-foot Road,[71] which ascended the Youghiogheny River, to meet him at the end of the month at Warner Washington's, near "Happy Retreat" in Virginia. Washington with his nephew Bushrod and Colonel Theophilus Phillips[72] set out for the latter's home near the present Point Marion, Pennsylvania; this home was an early landmark; in it the Monongahela County Court had been held.

* Hardin here corrects Colonel Bruce's misinformation; it was the West Fork and not Ten Mile Creek that headed near the Little Kanawha.

As Washington now notes in his diary (probably a hint from Lawyer Smith), the validity of the Posey bond [73] and the date of one of Surveyor Lewis's returns on which patent was issued and the meaning of one of Crawford's letters,* were important items [74] in the controversy. In due time the case came on for "tryal," at the November (1784) term of the Common Pleas Court, but was removed by Lawyer Smith to the Supreme Court, and tried before Thomas McKean and Jacob Rush, Justices of the Supreme Court holding *nisi prius* court at Washington, Pennsylvania, October 25, 26, and 27, 1786. Smith thus gives his reason for removing the case:† "I had good information that James Scott Junr had the most plausible claim & that he was the ringleader or director of the rest I therefore Resolved to take the Bull by the Horns, and removed the Ejectments into the Supreme Court in Such order as to have it in my

* Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Letters,* 61.

† The interesting *Washington-Smith Correspondence,* collected and owned by C. B. Humrich of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and loaned by him to the Museum of the Pennsylvania Bar Association, comprises many of the letters which passed between Washington and his lawyer respecting the ejectment suit, and many pages of memoranda in Washington's handwriting; the latter is practically a lawyer's "brief" of the case and, in the able opinion of Mr. Crumrine, marks Washington as a man of unexpected legal ability; his grasp of the whole matter, and especially his suggestions of the positions to be taken by the defendants, is masterly. Mr. Crumrine kindly placed his copy of this correspondence in the present editor's hands.

power to try the ejectment against him before the rest. . . . The trial therefore was ordered on, on the 24th after Dinner & lasted that afternoon the next Day and till 11 oclock in the forenoon of the 26th when the Jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff." Smith warned Washington that, in case he won his suit, there was no damage that could be handily done to the property which the "pious" Seceders would not do, a threat a trifle out of accord with their alleged piety; "fences & even the Buildings," he wrote, "will probably be burned or otherwise destroyed." In one of Washington's notes for Smith's perusal he writes these interesting and almost pathetic sentences: "The character, & general conduct of Captn Crawford must speak for themselves,—and these, I conceive, will bear the test of examination.—If he was a forestaller or monopolizer of Land, it is unknown to me.—I had no hand in the speculation. —nor have I a foot of Land in the Western Country that I do not hold under Military rights, except the tract on [the] Youghiogheny whereon Gilbert Simpson lives, and a small tract of between two & 300 acres at the Great Meadows; both of which I purchased. . . . Indeed, comparatively speaking I possess very little land on the Western Waters.—to attempt therefore to deprive me of the little I have, is, considering the circumstances under which I have been, and the

inability of attending to my own affairs, not only unjust, but pitifully mean." *

On June 1, 1796, Washington sold this tract to Matthew Richie for $12,000, of which $3180 was in cash and $8820 to be paid in three annual instalments. Richie died in 1798, leaving two payments due, willing the land to Judge Alexander Addison on condition that he pay the remainder. This Judge Addison did not do, for in 1802 the tract was sold at sheriff's sale on Richie's mortgage held by Washington's heirs. Judge Addison was purchaser for $60, which was enough to pay the costs; the Judge and his widow sold the land to eight persons, John Johnson being the largest buyer.

In the late afternoon of September 23, Washington reached the home of Colonel Phillips. He now leaves the historic region with which he was so familiar and strikes out into an unknown country. As he does so it is quite proper to emphasize again the significant fact that throughout his journey from Cumberland to Simpson's on the Youghiogheny River, through scenes as memorable as any on this continent that shall be forever linked with his name, we find not one single word in his diary of recollection or reminiscence. Fort Cumberland, Little Crossing, Great Crossing, Great Meadows, Fort Necessity, Braddock's

* MSS. *Washington-Smith Correspondence*, 9.

Grave and the orchard where he died, Jumonville's hiding-place, Dunbar's Camp, Mount Braddock and Stewart's Crossing receive not one syllable of recognition. It is a legend that at his home board Washington sanctioned no references to his past exploits; writing now, later in life, he certainly refrained in a remarkable way from any references to those boyhood days; the diffidence seems to the present editor intentionally studied. Either now or on the occasion of his visit in 1770 Washington attempted to find Braddock's grave; how interesting it would have been if he could have left in one of the two journals some little account of this inherently romantic delay! It is the absence of every such personal mention that gives ground for the assertion that Washington's journals are "uninteresting."

On the morning of the twenty-fourth the party, including their host, pushed on to the Cheat at its junction with the Monongahela at the present village of Point Marion.[75] The General's quick eye noted the peculiar glittering waters of the Cheat, correctly attributing it to the "Laurel, among which it rises." If you ask to-day along its banks the reason of this color[76] you may be told, as the writer was, that it is due to the saw-mills; there were few saw-mills on the Cheat in 1784! A more knowing resident will say that the iron in the water and the tan in the laurel makes an ink

which colors the otherwise limpid stream. Following the dividing ridge between the rivers, the home of John Pierpont, grandfather of Francis H. Pierpont, War Governor of West Virginia,[77] was reached, the site of which will be pointed out to the visitor near the present Pierpont M. E. Church, distant four miles from Morgantown, West Virginia, and four miles from Mount Chateau, the Cheat River resort. At the surveyor's office Washington did not find the records desired, save those of lands at the mouth of the Little Kanawha secured by Rutherford and Briscoe, names well known in Wood County and Parkersburg.[78]

When Washington brought up the inland navigation problem, Hanway sent to Morgantown for General Zackwell Morgan,[79] the founder of the city which bears his name. From him Washington learned that there were three routes eastward to the Potomac through the rugged region watered by the upper Cheat and Youghiogheny rivers; one was the "New Road" running from Morgantown through the Sandy Creek Glades to Braddock's Road, which it entered a mile west of Jockey Hollow; another branched from the New Road in Sandy Creek Glades and following McCullough's Path came to the North Branch at what is Fort Pendleton; the third ran from the neighborhood of the present Clarksburg, crossed

the Cheat at Dunkard's Bottom, one of the earliest clearings west of the Alleghanies made by a family of that name, and also crossed the Potomac at Fort Pendleton. All these paths were deer and buffalo trails to and from the splendid feeding grounds in the Glades; the first pioneers found them roads ready to their feet leading into the Glades from the East and out of them again toward what became "Morgan Town" and "Clarkstown," fifteen miles below the portage to the present Bullstown[80] on the Little Kanawha. The navigation of the Cheat below Horseshoe Bottom was reported adversely; and the only hope of an all-Virginia route from the Potomac to the Little Kanawha was to be secured by improving one of these roads through the Glades to Fort Pendleton — the one through Sandy Creek Glades or the one through Dunkard's Bottom.

Here at the Pierpont home occurred that famous interview between the youthful Albert Gallatin and Washington, to which the former frequently referred in after life. We have deferred reference to it till now in order that the picture that Washington so dimly draws may stand complete before this most interesting side-light is thrown upon it. Born in 1761, Gallatin came to America in 1780; during 1782 he was instructor in French at Harvard College, and early in 1784 came westward to lands he had purchased near

Washington's in Pennsylvania, at the mouth of George's Creek, of which mention is made in the diary. It is likely that Gallatin was visiting the surveyor with reference to his lands, though on this point we are not made clear by his biographers. "The story of the interview," writes one of them, Stevens, "was first made public by Mr. John Russell Bartlett, who had it from the lips of Mr. Gallatin. The version of the late Hon. William Beach Lawrence . . . differs slightly in immaterial points. Mr. Lawrence says:

"'Among the incidents connected with his (Mr. Gallatin's) earliest explorations was an interview with General Washington, which he repeatedly recounted to me. He had previously observed that of all the inaccessible men he had ever seen, General Washington was the most so. And this remark he made late in life, after having been conversant with most of the sovereigns of Europe and their prime ministers. He said, in connection with his office, he had a cot-bed in the office of the surveyor of the district when Washington, who had lands in the neighborhood, and was desirous of effecting communication between the rivers, came there. Mr. Gallatin's bed was given up to him,—Gallatin lying on the floor, immediately below the table at which Washington was writing [in his diary]. Washington was endeavoring to reduce to paper the calculations of the

day. Gallatin, hearing the statement, came at once to the conclusion, and, after waiting some time, he himself gave the answer, which drew from Washington such a look [of rebuke] as he never experienced before or since. On arriving by a slow process at his conclusion, Washington turned to Gallatin and said, "You are right, young man." Bartlett, in his recollection of the anecdote, adds that Washington, about this period, inquired after the forward young man, and urged him to become his land agent,—an offer which Gallatin declined.'" *

This version of Gallatin's story, looked at from the standpoint of Washington's diary is fairly well authenticated. There can be no doubt that it was at Pierpont's that the interview occurred, though as Freeman had been offered the position of land agent it is difficult to harmonize the detail of the story with Washington's record. Another version of the story is given by Henry Adams, who says: "Mr. Gallatin said he first met General Washington at the office of a land agent near the Kenawha River, in northwestern Virginia, where he [Gallatin] had been engaged in surveying. The office consisted of a log house fourteen feet square, in which was but one room. . . Many of the settlers and hunters familiar with the country had been invited to meet the general. . . . On

* John Austin Stevens, *Albert Gallatin* (Boston, 1884), 22-24.

his arrival General Washington took his seat at a pine table in the log cabin, or rather land agent's office, surrounded by the men who had come to meet him. They all stood up, as there was no room for seats. Some of the more fortunate, however, secured quarters on the bed. . . . Mr. Gallatin stood among the others in the crowd, though quite near the table, and listened attentively to the numerous queries put by the general, and very soon discovered from the various relations [accounts] which was the only practicable pass through which the road could be made. He felt uneasy at the indecision of the general, when the point was so evident to him, and without reflecting on the impropriety of it, suddenly interrupted him, saying, 'Oh, it is plain enough, such a place [a spot just mentioned by one of the settlers] is the most practicable.' The good people stared at the young surveyor (for they only knew him as such) with surprise, wondering at his boldness in thrusting his opinion unasked upon the general.

"The interruption put a sudden stop to General Washington's inquiries. He laid down his pen, raised his eyes from his paper, and cast a stern look at Mr. Gallatin, evidently offended at the intrusion of his opinion, but said not a word. Resuming his former attitude, he continued his interrogations for a few minutes longer, when,

suddenly stopping, he threw down his pen, turned to Mr. Gallatin, and said, 'You are right, sir.'" * The question naturally arises, Why was Gallatin staying at the surveyor's office? Perhaps he was learning the trade. The picture drawn of Washington at the table working the day's sum of information down to brief compass and the young man watching him from the floor is of intense interest; because it was no doubt here and now that the future statesman and champion of internal improvements received his first important inspiration. As is well known, Gallatin's comprehensive scheme as Secretary of the Treasury, less than twenty years later, involved the improvement of the Susquehanna, Potomac, and James rivers up the eastern slopes of the Alleghanies and of the Alleghany, Monongahela and Kanawha rivers down the Western slopes—Washington's identical plan in 1784, when, as a boy, Gallatin watched him from the floor of the surveyor's office and with irrepressible energy made his impromptu answer. In fact, Mr. Adams states that the reason Gallatin selected George's Creek for a base of operations was that he held in his hand the best practical connection between the Ohio and the Potomac "which was their path to Richmond and a market." Local tradition has it in the neighborhood

* *The Life of Gallatin* (Phil. 1879), 56–59.

that Gallatin's answer was to the effect that Braddock's Road marked the most feasible route. There was reason enough for Washington's agreeing with him and for giving him a glance!*

Hearing that the Dunkard's Bottom route is overgrown, the Washingtons leave Pierpont's before sunrise September 25 by the "New Road,"[81] crossing the Cheat at Andrew Ice's ferry,[82] still known by the old name, and climb over Cheat Mountain[83] to James Spurgeon's[84] on Sandy Creek, New Bruceton, West Virginia. The climb over Cheat Mountain is a long one today and you may ride as did the writer on a sunny September day three hours without sight of a human being or human habitation; the prospect could not have been more lonely in 1784 than in 1904, nor the first glimpse of the Sandy Creek Glades from the mountain crest more charming. Washington had good reason for traversing Braddock's Road, but what brought him into this unknown country? It was interesting to make this query of the mountain folk living along his route. Some said he was looking for lands; others thought he was buying timber-land. One supposed he was being chased by Indians or French! One

* For Washington's part in the old quarrel between Pennsylvania and Virginia over Braddock's and Forbes's roads, see Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, V, ch. iv.

was sure he was looking for oil, while several supposed he was merely hunting "big game."

At Bruceton the "New Road" turned northeast toward Braddock's Road, while McCullough's Path[85] turned southeast toward the "Great Glades of the Yoh." This path, which owed "its origin to Buffaloes," affords an interesting illustration of the fact that the pioneers of the West were greatly indebted to the buffalo for their first passageways; what adds to the interest is the fact that this was as true in the Alleghanies as in Kentucky and all the Middle West; the range of the buffalo did not extend to the Atlantic seaboard, but Washington's references here and later show that it extended at least to Western Maryland.

A study of the records at the law office at Annapolis show that there were two McCullough's paths, an "Old Path" and a "New Path"; they are remembered, though the bold pioneer whose name they bore is quite forgotten.* The "Old Path" led from Ice's ferry, which in earliest days was known as "McCullough's Landing,"† to Bruceton and from thence by way of "Castle

* The names McCulloch and McCullough were common in northwestern Virginia; see Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Withers's Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Cincinnati, 1895), *Index*. Washington spells the name both ways, and the present writer knows not the name of the marker of the early routes through the Glades.

† Butterfield, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, 6.

Hill" on Backbone Mountain to the North Branch (of the Potomac) at Bloomington, Maryland. The "New Road" led from Dunkard's Bottom, passing near Oakland, to Fort Pendleton on the North Branch.

Washington left Bruceton on the "Old Path," but left it under the guidance of one Lemon,[86] an unknown frontiersman bearing a name very well known in the Shenandoah Valley, and pursued a "small path" across Briery or Snaggy Mountain;[87] the party lay on the edge of the Great Glades of the Youghiogheny on the night of September 25, distant some eight miles from Dunkard's Bottom, near the present Crainsville, Maryland.[88] Pressing on the next day after a wet night in the open they passed near Oakland and came to the pioneer home of Charles Friend[89] on the Stephen Browning farm—formerly the "Arnold place"—near Oakland. A beautiful field of waving grain covers the site of the old cabin where the illustrious traveler could get nothing for his horses. Washington, however, was satisfied that a good road could be made over the route he had come.

Governor Thomas Johnson[90] of Maryland had patented portions of this Garden of the Alleghanies, and the patent describes or "calls for," as surveyors say, McCullough's Path. It reads:

"The said State does hereby Grant unto him

the said Thomas Johnson, Esquire, all that the aforesaid tract or parcel of land called *'Thomas and Ann,'* lying in Washington County.

"Beginning at four bounded white Oaks standing on the West side of McCullock's Road in a large glade commonly called and known by the name of Murley's Glade. . . ." * Johnson was one of the great Southern patriots of whom John Adams said "if it had not been for such [Southern] men as Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Chase and Thomas Johnson, there never would have been any Revolution." At least as early as 1770 Washington and Johnson were in correspondence respecting the plan of making the Potomac navigable and joining it with the Ohio River. The latter was a delegate to Congress 1775–1779, and, as we have seen, in 1775 nominated Washington for the office of Commander-in-Chief of the American Army; he was Governor of Maryland from 1777 to 1779. Along with Patrick Henry he was one of the few Revolutionary patriots who, like Washington, had invested money in Western lands.

The fair character of the sunny glades is hinted at by Washington.[91] The first tracts of land patented here by pioneers were given names significantly beautiful; one was "Promised Land,"

* *Records of Land Office of Maryland,* at Annapolis, Liber JC, No. 6, fol. 6 *seq.*

another "Milk and Honey," another "Bucksbones" and yet another "Hinches Discovery." A pretty name for a pioneer claim was "The Diadem," the patent for which called for McCullough's Path again as follows: " . . . The State of Maryland doth therefore hereby grant unto the said George Robins Hayward and Thomas Hayward the said tract of land called '*The Diadem,*' lying and being in Alleghany County aforesaid.

"Beginning at two bounded wild cherry trees standing by the side of McCollocks Road at the lower end of a glade on the North side of a fork of Muddy Creek. . . ."* The records show that this tract was surveyed April 11, 1774, and patented December 3, 1791, seventeen years elapsing between survey and patent; yet in the case of Washington's Pennsylvania lands but three or four years elapsed between survey and patent.

A mile before reaching Charles Friends the Washingtons crossed the Youghiogheny River[92] near what is now Webster's Switch on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad between Oakland and Mountain Lake Park; a bridge was erected over the old ford when the pioneer "Moorfield Road" was built on the buffalo trace, and the ruins of the ancient piers will be seen by the explorer who follows the romantic pathway of that road of a by-

* *Records of Land Office of Maryland,* at Annapolis, Liber JC, No. G, fol. 115 *seq.*

gone century. And as you look across the river at the bottom of that great ravine the heavy silence is suddenly broken by a roar as loud as though a score of mountain howitzers had been unmasked, and a heavy, magnificent "limited" hurtles above you through the lifting fogs; it is a thundering answer to the important questions which Washington was raising when he forded this little stream with his nephew sixscore years ago; he did not foresee the answer, but he uttered the question first and loudest of all his countrymen; and as one explorer turned away from the old ford it was with the thought: Washington crossed the Delaware but not more in his country's service than when he splashed across the Youghiogheny in this dark vale in the Alleghanies; in the former instance he was typically First in War; here he stands typically First in Peace. I love the "Washington Crossing the Youghiogheny"; the very act shows how broad-minded and far-sighted a man he was and what were his splendid powers of initiative; no Fabian policy here but rather a fascinating series of active, daring plans for the union of a land that was nothing except free.

From Friends the travelers pushed forward to Archy's Spring,[93] now called by the old name, situated by the farm-house of George B. McClellan Friend, three miles from Oakland. The Friends

of this region are all related more or less closely to the pioneer Charles Friend; the ancient spring is well-housed to-day, and above it on a dry knoll is a vestige of an old cabin-site.

Pursuing the pathway which can still be followed easily in the forests, Washington crossed Backbone Mountain and came down into Ryan's Glade[94] at the old William Lower place, five miles beyond, where Thomas Logston lived;[95] thence to Joseph Logston's[96] on the present site of the old Henry Bruce farm now owned by William Willdeson. Four miles more brought them to the Potomac at Thomas Logston's[97] clearing on the present site of Fort Pendleton, West Virginia. With every one met, the practicability of putting a road through from near Fort Pendleton to Dunkard's Bottom was discussed, and from a brother of Thomas Logston's Washington received a favorable report of the portage between the head of the James[98] and the head of New River.

Leaving Logston's September 27, the Washingtons crossed Stony Creek or "River"[99] a little north of the present Northwestern Turnpike bridge and traveled to the home of Abraham Hite[100] on the South Branch (of the Potomac) by the way of the head of Patterson's Creek evidently still on what was known as McCullough's Path. Hite lived at what is now Port Pleasant. On the twenty-ninth, Washington, who desired to visit

Thomas Lewis near Staunton, sent Bushrod Washington onward to Warner Washington's to bid Dr. Craik and son not to wait there, and proceeded himself to near Harrisonburg,[101] Rockingham County, Virginia. Passing down the northern tributary of the Shenandoah and through Brock's Gap[102] he reached Mr. Lewis's at sundown on the last day of September. Proceeding on October 2d he passes through Swift Run Gap[103] in the Blue Ridge, which here is the boundary line between Rockbridge and Green counties and follows the Culpeper road. Breakfasting at Culpeper Court House[104] on the morning of October 3 he reaches one Ashby's tavern[105] near Elk Run Church that night, and passing through Colchester the next day rides to Mount Vernon before nightfall, October 4.

Immediately upon his arrival at home Washington summarizes his journal and draws a plan for the commercial union of the Great Lakes, and the country between (Ohio and Western Pennsylvania), with Virginia by way of the Monongahela and Potomac rivers. He gives figures which show that no other route compares in shortness of distance with the Monongahela route. So far as the objections of Philadelphia merchants are concerned, Washington now comes out squarely on the American principle of the greatest good to the

greatest number and advances the proposition that the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania have a right to demand of that State to open the communication which will benefit them most. He states that numbers of people in that region were thinking of demanding a separation from Pennsylvania if the most practical communication with the seaboard was kept closed because of selfish interests. These were, undoubtedly, the influential Virginians with whom Washington became acquainted. This was not, as it may seem, an indication of mere partisanship; so far as the waterways were concerned, the Monongahela-Potomac route was the most practicable of any between the Ohio basin and Atlantic tide-water.

Of course the Virginians made the most of this, and without delaying a week, Washington presents in a letter to Governor Harrison the whole problem; this letter serves to interpret the summary of his diary; a small portion that is almost a quotation from it is omitted:

"MOUNT VERNON, October 10, 1784.

"Dear Sir:

"Upon my return from the western country a few days ago, I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 17th ultimo. . . .

"I shall take the liberty now, my dear Sir, to suggest a matter, which would (if I am not a

shortsighted politician) mark your administration as an important era in the annals of this country, if it should be recommended by you and adopted by the Assembly.

"It has long been my decided opinion, that the shortest, easiest and least expensive communication with the invaluable and extensive country back of us would be by one or both of the rivers of this State, which have their sources in the Apalachian Mountains. Nor am I singular in this opinion. Evans, in his Map and Analysis of the Middle Colonies,* which, considering the early period at which they were given to the public, are done with amazing exactness, and Hutchins since, in his Topographical Description of the Western country,† a good part of which is from actual sur-

*Lewis Evans's Map of 1755 "corrected" and published in Thomas Pownall, *Topographical Description ... of North America* (London, 1776).

† Thomas Hutchins, *Topographical Description,* etc. (London, 1778).

(106) December 16–22, 1753, Journal of 1753–54; Sparks, *Writings of Washington,* II, 444.

(107) Erie, Pennsylvania.

(108) *National Intelligencer,* August 26, 1847; Charles Moore, *The Northwest Under Three Flags,* 325; Sparks, *Writings of Washington,* VIII, 483; IX, 48.

(109) Washington made Detroit the commercial center of Greater America, as it had been the center of the old Northwest; he proposed to include it in the first state created; see second reference in the preceding note (108).

(109½) These tables of distances are in the appendix of Hutchins's *Topographical Description.*

veys, are decidedly of the same sentiments; as indeed are all others, who have had opportunities, and have been at the pains, to investigate and consider the subject.

"But that this may not now stand as matter of opinion and assertion, unsupported by facts (such at least as the best maps now extant, compared with the oral testimony, which my opportunities in the course of the war have enabled me to obtain), I shall give you the different routes and distances from Detroit, by which all the trade of the northwestern parts of the united territory must pass; unless the Spaniards, contrary to their present policy, should engage part of it, or the British should attempt to force nature, by carrying the trade of the Upper Lakes by the River Utawas [Ottawa] into Canada, which I scarcely think they will or could effect. Taking Detroit then (which is putting ourselves in as unfavorable a point of view as we can be well placed in, because it is upon the line of the British territory,) as a point by which, as I have already observed, all that part of the trade must come, it appears from the statement enclosed, that the tide waters of this State[110] are nearer to it by one hundred and sixty-eight miles, than those of the River St. Lawrence[110]; or than those of the Hudson at Albany, by one hundred and seventy-six miles.[110]

"Maryland stands upon similar ground with

Virginia. Pennsylvania, although the Susquehanna is an unfriendly [obstructed] water, much impeded, it is said, with rocks and rapids, and nowhere communicating with those, which lead to her capital [Philadelphia], has it in contemplation to open a communication between Toby's Creek, which empties into the Alleghany River ninety-five miles above Fort Pitt, and the west branch of the Susquehanna, and to cut a canal between the waters of the latter and the Schuylkill;* the expense of which is easier to be conceived, than estimated or described by me. A people, however, who are possessed of the spirit of commerce, who see and who will pursue their advantages, may achieve almost anything. In the meantime, under the uncertainty of these undertakings, they are smoothing the roads and paving the ways for the trade of that Western world. That New York will do the same as soon as the British garrisons are removed, which are at present insurmountable obstacles in their way, no person, who knows the temper, genius, and policy of those people as well as I do, can harbour the smallest doubt.

"Thus much with respect to rival States. Let me now take a short view of our own; and being aware of the objections which are in the way, I

* This earliest planned lock-canal in America, from near Reading on the Schuylkill to Middletown on the Susquehanna, was proposed in 1762, but was not begun until 1791. See Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America*, XIII, 22.

will, in order to contrast them, enumerate them with the advantages.

"The first and principal one is the *unfortunate jealousy,* which ever has, and it is to be feared ever will prevail, lest one part [Potomac] of the State should obtain an advantage over the other [James] parts, as if the benefits of the trade were not diffusive and beneficial to all. Then follows a train of difficulties, namely, that our people are already heavily taxed; that we have no money; that the advantages of this trade are remote [not immediate]; that the most direct route for it is through other States, over which we have no control; that the routes over which we have control are as distant as either of those which lead to Philadelphia, Albany, or Montreal; that a sufficient spirit of commerce does not pervade the citizens of this commonwealth; and that we are in fact doing for others, what they ought to do for themselves.

"Without going into the investigation of a question, which has employed the pens of all politicians, namely, whether trade with foreigners is an advantage or disadvantage to a country, this State, as a part of the Confederated States, all of which have the spirit of it very strongly working within them, must adopt it or submit to the evils arising therefrom without receiving its benefits. Common policy, therefore, points clearly and

strongly to the propriety of our enjoying all the advantages, which nature and our local situation afford us; and evinces clearly, that, unless this spirit could be totally eradicated in other States as well as in this, and every man made to become either a cultivator of the land or a manufacturer of such articles as are prompted by necessity, such stimulus should be employed as will *force* this spirit, by showing to our countrymen the superior advantages we possess beyond others, and the importance of being upon an equal footing with our neighbors.

"If this is fair reasoning, it ought to follow as a consequence, that we should do our part towards opening the communication for the fur and peltry trade of the Lakes and for the produce of the country which lies within, and which will, as soon as matters are settled with the Indians, and the terms on which Congress means to dispose of the land, found to be favorable, are announced, be settled faster than any other ever was, or anyone would imagine. This, then, when considered is an interested point of view, is alone sufficient to excite our endeavors. But in my opinion there is a political consideration for so doing which is of still greater importance. . . . [Three paragraphs which only paraphrase those of the diary.]

"The preliminary steps to the attainment of

this great object [opening communications] would be attended with very little expense, and might, at the same time that it served to attract the attention of the Western country, and convince the wavering inhabitants of our disposition to connect ourselves with them, and facilitate their commerce with us, be a means of removing those jealousies, which otherwise might take place among ourselves.

"These, in my opinion, are, to appoint commissioners, who, from their situation, integrity, and abilities, can be under no suspicion of prejudice or predilection to one part more than to another. Let these commissioners make an actual survey of James River and the Potomac from tide-water to their respective sources; note with great accuracy the kind of navigation and the obstructions, the difficulty and expense attending the removal of these obstructions, the distances from place to place through their whole extent, and the nearest and best portage between these waters and the streams capable of improvement, which run into the Ohio; traverse these in like manner to their junction with the Ohio, and with equal accuracy. The navigation of the Ohio being well known, they will have less to do in the examination of it; but, nevertheless, let the courses and distances be taken to the mouth of the Muskingum, and up that

river (notwithstanding it is in the ceded lands) * to the carrying-place to the Cayahoga; down the Cayahoga to Lake Erie; and thence to Detroit. Let them do the same with Big Beaver Creek, although part of it is in the State of Pennsylvania; and also with the Scioto. In a word, Let the waters east and west of the Ohio, which invite our notice by their proximity, and by the ease with which land transportation may be had between them and the Lakes on one side, and the Rivers Potomac and James on the other, be explored, accurately delineated, and a correct and connected map of the whole be presented to the public. These things being done, I shall be mistaken if prejudice does not yield to facts, jealousy to candor, and, finally, if reason and nature, thus aided, do not dictate what is right and proper to be done.

"In the mean while, if it should be thought that the lapse of time which is necessary to effect the work, may be attended with injurious consequences, could not there be a sum of money granted towards opening the best, or, if it should be deemed more eligible, two of the nearest communications (one to the northward and another to the southward) with the settlements to the westward; and an act be passed, if there should not

* By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (Rome, New York), October, 1784, the western boundary line of Pennsylvania was established as the line between the United States and the Six Nations, who, nominally, were the owners of the "Northwest."

appear a manifest disposition in the Assembly to make it a public undertaking, to incorporate and encourage private adventurers, if any should associate and solicit the same, for the purpose of extending the navigation of the Potomac or James River; and, in the former case, to request the concurrence of Maryland in the measure? It will appear from my statement of the different routes (and, as far as my means of information have extended, I have done it with the utmost candor), that all the produce of the settlements about Fort Pitt can be brought to Alexandria by the Youghiogheny in three hundred and four miles, whereof only thirty-one are land transportation; and by the Monongahela and Cheat Rivers in three hundred and sixty miles, twenty of which only are land carriage.* Whereas the common road from Fort Pitt to Philadelphia is three hundred and twenty miles, all land transportation; or four hundred and seventy-six miles if the Ohio, Toby's Creek, Susquehanna, and Schuylkill are made use of for this purpose. How much of this is by land, I know not; but from the nature of the country it must be very considerable. How much the interest and feelings of people thus circumstanced would be engaged to promote it, requires no illustration.

*It is evident that Washington follows exactly the schedule given in the Diary.

"One thing more remains, which I had like to have forgotten, and that is, the supposed difficulty of obtaining a passage through the State of Pennsylvania. How an application to its legislature would be relished, in the first instance, I will not undertake to decide; but of one thing I am almost certain, such an application would place that body in a very delicate situation. There are in the State of Pennsylvania at least one hundred thousand souls west of the Laurel Hill, who are groaning under the inconveniences of a long land transportation. They are wishing, indeed they are looking, for the improvement and extension of inland navigation; and, if this cannot be made easy for them to Philadelphia (at any rate it must be long), they will seek a mart elsewhere; the consequence of which would be, that the State, though contrary to the interests of its sea-ports, must submit to the loss of so much of its trade, or hazard not only the loss of the trade but the loss of the settlement also; for an opposition on the part of government to the extension of water transportation, so consonant with the essential interests of a large body of people, or any extraordinary impositions upon the exports or imports to or from another State, would ultimately bring on a separation between its eastern and western settlements; towards which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in that part of it beyond

the mountains. . . .* What I now give is crude; but if you are in sentiment with me, I have said enough; if there is not an accordance of opinion, I have said too much; and all I pray in the latter case is, that you will do me the justice to believe my motives are pure, however erroneous my judgment may be in this matter." †

This was more than a private letter, for the Governor presented it bodily to the Virginia Assembly as a State Paper, as Harrison wrote Washington November 13 the following: "I was in great hopes of seeing you here [Richmond] before this, that I might . . . tell you how much I approve of your plan for opening the navigation of the western waters. The letter was so much more explicit than I could be, that I took the liberty to lay it before the Assembly, who appear so impressed with the utility of the measure, that I dare say they will order the survey you propose immediately, and will at their next sitting proceed to carry the plan into execution." ‡

The Governor's words came true, for both Maryland and Virginia passed a law § in the spring (1785), authorizing the formation of a company to proceed with the opening of the navi-

* This omitted sentence refers to Rumsey's invention and is an exact quotation from the Diary.

† Sparks, *Writings of Washington,* IX, 58–68.

‡ Id., IX, 68, *note.*

§ Henning, *The Statutes at Large,* XI, ch. xliii.

gation of the Potomac and the building of a highway from the uttermost navigable waters of the nearest Western water; Pennsylvania was to be asked to improve the navigation of any stream in her territory that was found to be the best avenue between the Potomac and Ohio. Subscription books were opened February 8, 1785, and a meeting of subscribers was called for May 17. Four hundred and three shares, it was found, had been subscribed, making the capital about $200,000. General Washington was elected President of the Potomac Company, as it was called, and Thomas Johnson, Thomas Sim Lee, John Fitzgerald and George Gilpin were elected directors. Work was soon begun on the Potomac, under the superintendency of "the ingenious M[r] Rumsey" whom Washington called to the task, in rendering navigation possible around Great Falls (near Washington, D. C.), Seneca Falls and Shenandoah Falls at Harper's Ferry.*

But, Virginian though he was, Washington did not intend to limit the benefit of his recent exploration; on December 14 he wrote Richard Henry Lee, President of Congress, in much the same strain: "The Assemblies of Virginia and Maryland have now under consideration the extension

* The history of the Potomac Company has been sketched by John Pickell, *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* (New York, 1856).

of the inland navigation of the rivers Potomac and James, and opening a communication between them and the western waters. They seem fully impressed with the political as well as the commercial advantages which would result from the accomplishment of these great objects, and I hope will embrace the present moment to put them in a train for execution. Would it not, at the same time, be worthy of the wisdom and attention of Congress to have the western waters well explored, the navigation of them fully ascertained, accurately laid down, and a complete and perfect map made of the country; at least as far westerly as the Miamies, running into the Ohio and Lake Erie,* and to see how the waters of these communicate with the River St. Joseph, which empties into the Lake Michigan, and with the Wabash? For I cannot forbear observing that the Miami village, in Hutchins's map, if it and the waters are laid down with accuracy, points to a very important post [fort] for the Union.† The expense attending such an undertaking could not be great, the advantages would be unbounded; for sure I am, nature has made such a display of her bounties in those regions, that the more the country is explored, the more it will rise in estimation, conse-

* Miami, running southwest into the Ohio, and the Maumee ("Miami-of-the-Lakes"), flowing northward into Lake Erie.

† Fort Wayne, Indiana.

quently the greater will the revenue be to the Union. . . . The spirit of emigration is great. People have got impatient, and, though you cannot stop the road, it is yet in your power to mark the way; a little while and you will not be able to do either. It is easier to prevent than to remedy an evil. . . ." *

Here Washington advances a new and important reason for "making a smooth road" to the West, namely, a military one. Within six months he wrote Major General Knox, "Secretary at War:" "If I am right in my principles, some such distribution as the following may not be ineligible for the seven hundred men, that are ordered to be raised. At Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, or the mouth of the Big Beaver, being in the vicinity of a thick settlement, only one hundred men. At Cayahoga, whence a detachment might occupy the carrying-place between that water and the Big Beaver, being on the line and most exposed, I allow two hundred. At Miami Fort, or Village, and dependencies, two hundred. At the Falls of Ohio [Louisville], or some spot more convenient and healthy on that river, one hundred and fifty. At the conflux of the Great Kanawha and the Ohio, for security of the river, protection of trade and covering emigrants, fifty." †

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 80–81.
† Id., IX, 110–111.

Another question of national importance as well as of immediate concern was the control of the Mississippi; in connection with this problem Washington's plan of intercommunication, as elsewhere noted, had a place. "I may be singular in my ideas," he wrote David Humphreys a little later, "but they are these; that, to open a door to, and make easy the way for, . . . settlers to the westward (who ought to advance regularly and compactly) before we make any stir about the navigation of the Mississippi, and before our settlements are far advanced towards that river, would be our true line of policy." * And he wrote Lee again: ". . . the navigation of the Mississippi, *at this time,* ought to be no object with us. On the contrary, until we have a little time allowed to open and make easy the ways between the Atlantic States and the western territory, the obstructions had better remain. There is nothing which binds one country or one State to another but interest. Without this cement the western inhabitants, who more than probably will be composed in a great degree of foreigners, can have no predilection for us, and a commercial connection is the only tie we can have upon them. . . . When the settlements are stronger and more extended to the westward, the navigation of the Mississippi will be an object of importance, and we shall then

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington,* IX, 115.

be able, reserving our claims, to speak a more efficacious language, than policy, I think dictates at present." * Washington's theory was popular, for Lee wrote him: "But my dear General, I do not think you go far enough. Rather than defer longer a free and liberal system of trade with Spain, why not agree to the exclusion of the Mississippi? This exclusion will not, cannot, exist longer than the infancy of the western emigrants." † Another hitherto unconsidered benefit to arise from the opening of a westward highway is incidentally brought out here, namely, its influence in inducing and encouraging emigration.

While noting these larger problems to which the intercommunication plan was introductory, it must be observed that it vitally concerned what soon became the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio." What has already been quoted concerning the fortification of the Cuyahoga-Beaver portage and the Miami Village shows that Washington was the ultimate authority on the Western problem, therefore Secretary Knox's question. When, during his first presidency, the Indian War waged by Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne attracted the Nation's attention, no one knew the country or the conditions that prevailed in the West as did the man at the helm. For years Washington kept up a private correspondence

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 119. † Id., IX, 173, *note*.

with military men on the frontier for the sole purpose of getting additional pieces of information concerning the rivers and the portages of the West.

The direct influence of the advance steps taken by Virginia and Maryland in forming the Potomac Company was tremendous; it created no end of comment and speculation, and in a moment's time a score of prophets arose with pencil and pad to show that Philadelphia or New York, as the case might be, was, without question, nearer the Great Lakes and Ohio basin than any Potomac Valley port. In Pennsylvania the "Society for promoting the improvement of roads and inland navigation" memorialized the Legislature February 7, 1791, in behalf of a campaign of inland navigation; "To combine the interests of all parts of the state," it was related, "and to cement them in a perpetual commercial and political union, by the improvement of those natural advantages, is one of the greatest works which can be submitted to *legislative* wisdom; and the present moment is particularly auspicious for the undertaking, and if neglected, the loss will be hard to retrieve."* The words might have been Washington's! On the 13th of April following about $100,000 was

* *An Historical Account of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Canal Navigation in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1795), 1.

appropriated, of which $25,000 was for the Susquehanna, $14,000 for the Conemaugh and $150 for the Alleghany. This was Pennsylvania's western route. New York was a little behind Pennsylvania; but on March 30, 1792, that state passed *An Act for establishing and opening Lock Navigation* within this State,* and the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company began the improvement of the Mohawk-Lake Oneida route to the Great Lakes. The leader of the inland navigation campaign in New York, Elkanah Watson, received direct inspiration from Washington, whom he visited at Mount Vernon; his host told him, among other things, that he believed that the stock-holders in the Potomac Company would, in a few years, receive twenty per cent. on their investment.† Engineers on the Mohawk route visited the works of the Potomac Company to make observations of practical value; the Potomac River became for the moment the canal lock university of America. They also visited the Middlesex Canal between Boston harbor and the Merrimac River, which was incorporated in 1789 though not completed until fifteen years later; the first American canal also had its origin in the days of the commercial awakening which incidentally

* *Laws of the State of New York*, II, ch. xi.

† Watson, *History of the . . . Western Canals in the State of New York*, 87.

succeeded the termination of the Revolution. It would be easy, perhaps, to exaggerate the influence exerted by Washington's Potomac Company in the similar undertakings; that they were more or less effected by Virginia's and Maryland's forward step is sure; indeed, so far as the inland navigation projects are concerned, Washington foresaw and foretold them, though he did not expect to see the Mohawk improvement begin until England had released from her grasp the Great Lake positions, Niagara and Detroit. As to New York's ability to open that channel toward the West, we have seen that Washington did not "harbor the smallest doubt." Nor did the wise man begrudge the New Yorkers their fine opportunity for obtaining the trade of the West. "For my own part," he said to a member of Congress, "I wish sincerely every door of that country may be set wide open, and the commercial intercourse with it rendered as free and easy as possible . . . and we shall be deficient in foresight and wisdom if we neglect the means of effecting it." The attitude of this man surely had its effect in the awakening of New York; "Washington's language," wrote Professor Adams, "seems almost prophetic."

But there is almost no exaggerating the influence of Washington's attitude to the West; just a moment longer that splendid empire lay like a

giant asleep; and then it sprang into a wonderful life that is the marvel of the centuries. It is hardly too much to say that it was George Washington who called that giant from its sloth of millenniums to the deeds witnessed in that wonderful half century. In all phases of the awakening of the West—the Mississippi question, the organization of the Northwest Territory, the formulating of the ordinance of 1787 ("the legal outcome of Maryland's successful policy in advocating National Sovereignty over the Western Lands"), the ceding of lands to the National Government, the handling of the Indian problem —Washington's influence and knowledge were of paramount usefulness. Take these instances of his prescience as yet unmentioned: he suggested, in connection with the Potomac improvement, the policy of exploration and national surveys which our government has steadily adhered to since that day;* the Lewis and Clark expedition was a result of this policy advocated first by Washington. Again, note Washington's singularly wise opinion on the separation of Kentucky from Virginia. Writing to Jefferson in 1785, he affirms that the general opinion in his part of Virginia is unfavorable to the separation. "I have uniformly given it as mine," he wrote, "to meet them upon their own ground, draw the best line and make the best

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, IX, 80.

terms we can, and part good friends."* There could be no more marvelous instance of a statesman's clear reading of a people's future than this; and Washington, with a trifle less modesty than usually envelopes his correspondence, added, in his letter to Jefferson, that in all probability additional information as to Kentucky's designs will be forthcoming at the next session of the Virginia Legislature, but "if you should not receive it through a better channel, I will have the honor to inform you." Washington here stands as the champion of an independent Kentucky. And, again, it is to the point to notice Washington's far-seeing view of the progress and enterprise of the West in relation to commerce; who before him ever had the temerity to suggest (*ante,* p. 102) that ships would descend the Ohio River and sail for foreign ports? And yet the prophecy was speedily realized in less than a generation, for brigs were then taking out papers at Marietta, Ohio, and elsewhere and going overseas to European ports.†

If, as Professor McMaster has said, "George Washington is an unknown man," it is because we know the heroic figure and have forgotten the sane, busy, clear-headed man portrayed in this

* Sparks, *Writings of Washington,* IX, 134. Washington was never in favor of the "grasping" attitude of certain Virginians. Cf. Id., IX, 33.

† Thompson Mason Harris, *Journal of a Tour,* 140.

diary. Washington, in the abstract, as taking command of the Continental Army under the Cambridge Elm, is an unknown man; not so the Washington viewing his white oak land on the upper Potomac, or fighting an honest land claim in the courts, or sleeping a night in his military cloak amid the Great Glades of the Youghiogheny. "It does not detract from Washington's true greatness," wrote Professor Adams, "for the world to know this material side of his character. On the contrary, it only exalts that heroic spirit which, in disaster, never faltered, and which, in success, would have no reward. To be sure, it brings Washington nearer the level of humanity to know that he was endowed with the passions common to men, and that he was as diligent in business as he was fervent in his devotion to country. It may seem less ideal to view Washington as a man rather than as a hero or statesman, but it is the duty of history to deal with great men as they actually are. Man lives for himself, as well as in and for the State, and the distinction of individual from patriotic motives is one of the necessary tasks of historical investigation." In passing it should be noted that in all his endeavors to "open the door to the West" Washington was ever subject to the accusation of self-interest; he virtually acknowledges in a letter to Jefferson that he is looked upon as a prejudiced prophet when he

affirmed that he (Washington) was glad to know that Jefferson coincided with him in the importance of the intercommunication scheme although he had no property in the West. So far as self-interest goes Washington was insistent for Potomac improvement, whereas the vast bulk of his Western property lay on the lower fifty miles of the Great Kanawha River; had he been influenced by personal motives only he would have given his whole attention to the James River improvement and not the Potomac; it would have meant far more to him financially. And when both (Potomac and James) companies were established, the State of Virginia subscribed to fifty shares in both and voted them to George Washington in token of public esteem for services rendered; yet Washington refused the gift until he found a method of acceptance that left him not one penny the richer for it.

But return to the proposition made by Professor Adams, that it not only does not lessen our esteem of Washington to know the details of his business enterprises, but indeed increases it. I submit that it has been *because* of the lack of knowledge of Washington's private ambitions and interests that Professor McMaster can say that the General and President are known to us, but "George Washington is an unknown man." What is needed to keep the personality of that

truly great man distinct and vivid is a properly adjusted estimate of the "material" as well as the "heroic" elements of his character; in no case is there more urgent need of a "distinction of individual from patriotic motives" than in that of Washington; else we shall keep the "General" and "President" and lose this man most perfectly represented in the diary of 1784 and its affiliated correspondence—the greatest man in America had there been no Revolutionary War.

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